THE HOLY STATE.

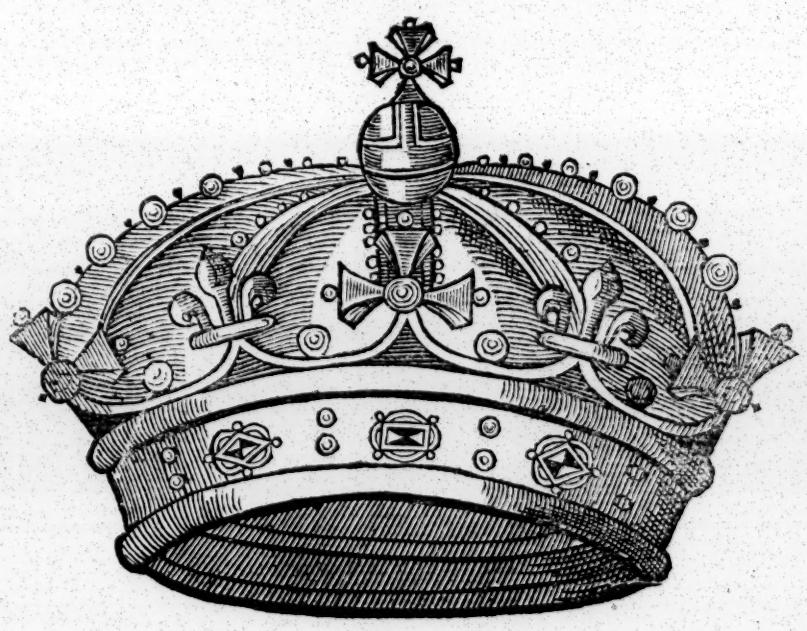
BY

THOMAS FULLER, B. D.
and Prebendarie of
Sarum.

ZECHARIAH 14. 20.

In that day ſhall there be upon the bells of the horſes,
HOLINESSE UNTO THE LORD.

The ſecond Edition enlarged.



CAMBRIDGE:

¶ Printed by *R. D.* for *John Williams*, and are to be ſold at the ſigne of the Crown in St. Pauls Churchyard. 1648.

To the Reader.

WHo is not ſenſible with ſorrow of the diſtractions of this age? To write books therefore may ſeem unſeaſonable, eſpecially in a time wherein the *Preſſe*, like an unruly horſe, hath caſt off his bridle of being *Licenſed*, and ſome ſerious books, which dare flie abroad, are hooted at by a flock of Pamphlets.

But be pleaſed to know that when I left my home, it was fair weather, and my journey was half paſt, before I diſcovered the tempeſt, and had gone ſo farre in this Work, that I could neither go backward with credit, nor forward with comfort.

As for the matter of this Book, therein I am reſident on my Profeſsion; Holineſſe in the latitude thereof falling under the cognizanſe of a Divine. For curious method, expect none, Eſſays for the moſt part not being placed as at a *Feaſt*, but placing themſelves as at an *Ordinary*.

The characters I have conformed to the then ſtanding Laws of the Realm, (a twelvemoneth ago were they ſent to the Preſſe) ſince which time the wiſdome of the King and State hath thought fitting to alter many things, and I expect the diſcretion of the Reader ſhould make his alterations accordingly. And I conjure thee by all Chriſtian

ingenuity, that if lightning here on ſome paſſages, rather harſh-ſounding then ill-intended, to conſtrue the ſame by the generall drift and main ſcope which is aimed at.

Nor let it render the modeſtie of this Book ſuſpected, becauſe it preſumes to appear in company unmann'd by any Patron: If right, it will defend it ſelf; if wrong, none can defend it: Truth needs not, falſhood deſerves not a Supporter. And indeed the matter of this VVork is too high for a ſubjects, the workmanſhip thereof too low for a Princes patronage.

And now I will turn my pen into prayer, That God would be pleaſed to diſcloud theſe gloomy dayes with the beams of his mercie: which if I may be ſo happy as to ſee, it will then encourage me to count it freedome to ſerve two apprentiſhips (God ſpinning out the thick thred of my life ſo long) in writing the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory from Chriſts time to our dayes, if I ſhall from remoter parts be ſo planted, as to enjoy the benefit of walking, and ſtanding Libraries, without which advantages the beſt vigilancie doth but vainly dream to undertake ſuch a task.

Mean time I will ſtop the leakage of my ſoul, and what heretofore hath run out in writing, ſhall hereafter (God willing) be improved in conſtant preaching, in what place ſoever Gods providence, and friends good will ſhall fix

Thine in all Chriſtian offices.

THOMAS FULLER.

An Index of the severall Chapters contained in this Book; the first figure shewing the book, the second the chapter, the third the page.

B.	Ch.		Page
1	4	*Abrahams life.*	9
2	1	*The Advocate.*	49
5	19	*Duke D' Alva's life.*	494
5	18	*Andronicus his life.*	456
3	8	*Anger.*	158
2	6	*Antiquary.*	62
3	6	*Apparell.*	153
2	7	*Artist.*	65
5	6	*Atheist.*	364
4	10	*S. Augustines life.*	272
5	13	*Barrettour.*	392
4	9	*The Bishop.*	265
3	18	*Books.*	185
5	7	*Borgia his life.*	369
4	4	*Brandon his life.*	245
1	14	*Elder* } *Brother.*	40
	15	*Younger* }	42
3	7	*Building.*	155
4	6	*Lord Burleigh his life.*	254
2	24	*Cambdens life.*	135
1	6	*Child.*	13
3	24	*Churches.*	213
3	5	*Company.*	150
3	17	*Contentment.*	181
2	4	*The Controversall Divine.*	54
3	15	*Deformity.*	177
5	14	*The Degenerous Gentleman.*	394
5	11	*The Donatists.*	381
2	22	*Sr Francis Drakes life.*	123

B.	Ch.		Page
4	20.	*Edward the black Prince his life.*	328
1	9	*Eliezers life.*	19
4	15	*Queen Elizabeth her life.*	299
4	16	*The Embassadour.*	306
5	4	*Endor Witch, her life.*	355
3	9	*Expecting Preferment.*	159
3	23	*Fame.*	209
4	1	*Favourite.*	229
3	12	*Fools.*	168
4	17	*The Generall.*	312
2	25	*The Gentleman.*	138
3	21	*Gravity.*	204
4	2	*Hamans life.*	236
2	19	*Handicrafts-man.*	108
5	1	*Harlot.*	343
2	23	*Herald.*	131
5	10	*Heretick.*	378
1	13	*Hildegardis her life.*	36
3	1	*Hospitality.*	143
1	3	*Husband.*	7
5	8	*Hypocrite.*	373
4	14	*Lady Jane her life.*	294
5	9	*Jehu his life.*	375
3	2	*Jesting.*	145
5	5	*Joan of Arc her life.*	358
5	2	*Joan Queen of Naples her life.*	347
4	7	*Judge.*	259
4	21	*The King.*	334

B.	Ch.		Page
4	13	*The Lady.*	287
2	13	*Landlord*	89
5	12	*The Lyer.*	390
3	22	*Marriage.*	207
4	8	*Markham his life.*	262
1	7	*Master.*	15
2	14	*Master of a Colledge.*	92
3	10	*Memory.*	162
2	17	*Merchant.*	103
2	15	*Metcalfe his life.*	95
2	9	*The Minister.*	73
3	25	*Ministers maintenance.*	221
3	20.	*Moderation.*	201
1	2	*Monica her life.*	4
4	12	*The Nobleman.*	283
2	3	*Paracelsus his life.*	51
1	5	*Parent.*	11
2	11	*Parishioner.*	84
2	12	*Patron.*	87
1	11	*Lady Paula her life.*	24
5	16	*Pazzians conspiracie.*	442
2	10	*Perkins his life.*	80
3	11	*Phancy.*	165
2	2	*Physician.*	48
3	16	*Plantations.*	177
4	19	*The Prince.*	322
3	13	*Recreations.*	171
4	11	*Bishop Ridleys life.*	277
2	8	*Scaliger his life.*	69
2	16	*Schoolmaster.*	98
2	21	*Sea-Captain.*	120
3	3	*Self-praising.*	146
1	8	*Servant.*	17
2	20	*Souldier.*	112
4	5	*Statesman.*	247
4	18	*Swedens King.*	316
3	19	*Time-serving.*	187
3	14	*Tombes.*	174
5	15	*Traitour.*	440
3	4	*Travell.*	148
5	17	*Tyrant.*	445
1	12	*The Virgin.*	31
2	5	*Whitakers his life.*	59
1	10	*Widow.*	21
1	1	*Wife.*	1
5	3	*Witch.*	351
4	3	*Cardinall Wolsey his life.*	241
2	18	*The Yeoman.*	105

The Holy State.

THE FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

The good Wife.

PAUL to the Coloſsians chap. 3. verſ. 18. firſt adviſeth women to ſubmit themſelves to their husbands, and then counſelleth men to love their wives. And ſure it was fitting that women ſhould firſt have their leſſon given them, becauſe it is hardeſt to be learned, and therefore they need have the more time to conne it. For the ſame reaſon we firſt begin with the character of a good Wife.

Maxime 1

She commandeth her husband in any equall matter, by conſtant obeying him. It was alwayes obſerved, that what the Engliſh gained of the French in battel by valour, the French regained of the Engliſh by cunning in * Treaties: So if the husband ſhould chance by his power in his paſsion to prejudice his wives right, ſhe wiſely knoweth by compounding and complying to recover and rectifie it again.

* *Comineus lib. 4 cap. & Bodinus De Repub. lib. 5. p. 782.*

2

She never croſſeth her husband in the ſpring-tide of his anger, but ſtayes till it be ebbing-water. And then mildly ſhe argues the matter, not ſo much to condemn him, as to acquit her ſelf. Surely men, contrary to iron, are worſt to be wrought upon when they are hot; and are farre more tractable in cold bloud. It is an obſervation of Seamen, That if a ſingle

Erasmus Dial. in naufragio.

* meteor or fireball falls on their maſt, it portends ill luck; but if two come together (which they count Caſtor and Pollux) they preſage good ſucceſſe: But ſure in a family it bodeth moſt bad, when two firebals (husbands and wives anger) come both together.

3 *She keeps home if ſhe hath not her husbands company, or leave for her patent to go abroad*: For the houſe is the womans centre. It is written, Pſalm 104. 2. *The ſunne ariſeth,---man goeth forth unto his work, and to his labour untill the evening*: but it is ſaid of the good woman, Prov. 31. 15. *She riſeth whiles it is yet night*: For man in the race of his work ſtarts from the riſing of the ſunne, becauſe his buſineſſe is without doores, and not to be done without the light of heaven? but the woman hath her work within the houſe, and therefore can make the ſunne riſe by lighting of a candle.

4 *Her clothes are rather comely then coſtly, and ſhe makes plain cloth to be velvet by her handſome wearing it.* She is none of our dainty dames, who love to appear in variety of ſutes every day new, as if a good gown, like a ſtratageme in warre, were to be uſed but once: But our good wife ſets up a ſail according to the keel of her husbands eſtate; and if of high parentage, ſhe doth not ſo remember what ſhe was by birth, that ſhe forgets what ſhe is by match.

5 *Arcana imperii (her husbands ſecrets) ſhe will not divulge.* Eſpecially ſhe is carefull to conceal his infirmities. If he be none of the wiſeſt, ſhe ſo orders it that he appears on the publick ſtage but ſeldome; and then he hath conn'd his part ſo well, that he comes off with great applauſe. If his *Forma informans* be but bad, ſhe provides him better *formas aſſiſtentes*, gets him wiſe ſervants and ſecretaries.

6 *In her husbands abſence ſhe is wife and deputy husband, which makes her double the files of her diligence.* At his return he finds all things ſo well, that he wonders to ſee himſelf at home when he was abroad.

7 *Her carriage is ſo modeſt, that ſhe dis-heartens wantons not onely to take but even to beſiege her chaſtity.* I confeſſe ſome deſperate men will hope any thing; yea, their ſhameleſſe boldneſſe

neſſe will faſten on impoſsibilities, meaſuring other folks badneſſe by their own : yet ſeldome ſuch Salamanders, which live in the fire of luſt, dare approch, without ſeeing the ſmoke of wantonneſſe in looks, words, apparell, or behaviour. And though charity commands me to believe, that ſome women which hang out ſignes, notwithſtanding will not lodge ſtrangers; yet theſe mock-gueſts are guilty in tempting others to tempt them.

8 *In her husbands ſickneſſe ſhe feels more grief then ſhe ſhews.* Partly that ſhe may not dis-hearten him; and partly becauſe ſhe is not at leiſure to ſeem ſo ſorrowfull, that ſhe may be the more ſerviceable.

9 *Her children, though many in number, are none in noyſe, ſteering them with a look whither ſhe liſteth.* When they grow up, ſhe teacheth them not pride but painfulneſſe, making their hands to clothe their backs, and them to wear the livery of their own induſtry. She makes not her daughters Gentlewomen before they be women, rather teaching them what they ſhould pay to others, then receive from them.

10 *The heavieſt work of her ſervants ſhe maketh light, by orderly and ſeaſonable enjoying it* : Wherefore her ſervice is counted a preferment, and her teaching better then her wages. Her maids follow the preſident of their miſtreſſe, live modeſtly at home. One askt a grave Gentlewoman, How her maids came by ſo good husbands, and yet ſeldome went abroad; *Oh*, ſaid ſhe, *good husbands come home to them.* So much for this ſubject : and what is defective in this deſcription ſhall be ſupplied by the pattern enſuing.

MONICA WIFE *of* Patricivs, *and Mother to* S^t Auguſtine. *She Died at* Oſtia *in* Italye. *A^o Do* 389. *aged* 56 *yeares*. W. Marſhall ſculp:

Chap. 2.

The life of Monica.

MONICA is better known by the branch of her iſſue, then root of her parentage, and was born in or nigh Tagaſta in Africk. * Her parents, whoſe names we find not, were Chriſtians, and carefull of her education, committing her to the breeding of an old maid in the houſe, who, though her ſelf crooked with age, was excellent to ſtraighten the manners of youth. She inſtructed her with holy ſeverity, never allowing her to drink wine, or between meals.

* *Auguſt. confeſſ. lib. 9. c. 8.*

meals. Having out-grown her tuition, ſhe began by degrees to ſip, and drink wine, leſſer draughts like wedges widening her throat for greater, till at laſt (ill cuſtomes being not knockt, but inſenſibly ſcru'd into our ſouls) ſhe could fetch off her whole ones. Now it happened that a young maid (formerly her partner in potting) fell at variance with her, and (as malice when ſhe ſhoots draws her arrow to the head) called her Toſ-pot, and drunkard; whereupon Monica reformed her ſelf, and turned temperate. Thus bitter taunts ſometime make wholeſome Phyſick, when God ſanctifies unto us the malice of our enemies to perform the office of good will.

After this was ſhe married to Patricius, one of more honour then wealth, and as yet a pagan; wherein ſhe brake S. Pauls precept, *To marry onely in the Lord.* Perchance then there was a dearth of husbands, or ſhe did it by her parents importunity, or out of promiſe of his converſion: and the hiſtory herein being but lamely delivered us, it is charity to ſupport it with the moſt favourable conſtruction. He was of a ſtern nature, none more lamb when pleaſed, or lion when angry; and which is worſe, his wild * affections did prey abroad, till ſhe lured them home by her loving behaviour. Not like thoſe wives who by their hideous outcries drive their wandring husbands farther out of the way.

* *Auguſt. confeſſ. lib. 9. c. 9.*

Her own houſe was to her a houſe of correction, wherein her husbands mother was bitter unto her, having a quarrell not ſo much to her perſon as relation, becauſe a daughter in law. Her ſervants, to climbe into the favour of their old miſtreſſe, trampled on their young, they bringing tales, and the old woman belief; though the teeth of their malice did but file her innocency the brighter. Yea at laſt her mother in law, turning her compurgatour, cauſed her ſonne to puniſh thoſe maids which cauſeleſly had wronged their miſtreſſe.

When her neighbours, which had husbands of far milder diſpoſitions, would ſhew her their husbands cruelty legible in their faces, all her pitying was reproving them: and

whereas they expected to be prayſed for their patience, ſhe condemned them for deſerving ſuch puniſhment. She never had blow from, or jarre with her husband, ſhe ſo ſuppled his hard nature with her obedience, and to her great comfort ſaw him converted to Chriſtianity before his death. Alſo ſhe ſaw Auguſtine her ſonne, formerly vitious in life, and erroneous in doctrine (whoſe ſoul ſhe bathed in her Tears) become a worthy Chriſtian, who coming to have his eares tickled, had his heart touched, and got Religion in to boot with the eloquence of S. Ambroſe. She ſurvived not long after her ſonnes converſion (God ſends his ſervants to bed when they have done their work) and her candle was put out, as ſoon as the day did dawn in S. Auguſtine.

Take an inſtance or two of her ſignall piety. There was a cuſtome in * Africk to bring pulſe bread and wine to the monuments of dead Saints, wherein Monica was as forward as any. But being better inſtructed that this cuſtome was of heatheniſh parentage, and that Religion was not ſo poore as to borrow rites from Pagans, ſhe inſtantly left off that ceremony: and as for pietie's ſake ſhe had done it thus long, ſo for pietie's ſake ſhe would do it no longer. How many old folks now adayes, whoſe beſt argument is uſe, would have flown in their faces, who ſhould ſtop them in the full career of an ancient cuſtome.

* *Auguſt. confeſſ. lib. 6. c. 2.*

There was one Licentius a novice-convert, who had got theſe words by the end, *Turn us again, O Lord God of hoſts: ſhew us the light of thy countenance and we ſhall be whole.* And (as it is the faſhion of many mens tongues to echo forth the laſt ſentence they learn) he ſaid it in all places he went to. But Monica, over-hearing him to ſing it in the houſe of office, was * highly offended at him: becauſe holy things are to be ſuited to holy places; and the harmonie could not be ſweet where the ſong did jarre with the place. And although ſome may ſay, that a gracious heart conſecrateth every place into a Chapell; yet ſure though pious things are no where unfitting to be thought on, they may ſomewhere be improper to be uttered.

* *Auguſt. lib. 1. De ordine, c. 8.*

Drawing

Drawing near her death, ſhe ſent moſt pious thoughts as harbingers to heaven, and her ſoul ſaw a glimpſe of happineſſe through the chincks of her ſickneſſe-broken body. She was ſo inflamed with zeal, that ſhe turned all objects into fewell to feed it. One day ſtanding with S. Auguſtine at an Eaſt-window, * ſhe raiſed her ſelf to conſider the light of Gods preſence, in reſpect whereof all corporall light is ſo farre from being match'd, it deſerves not to be mentioned. Thus mounted on heavenly meditations, and from that high pitch ſurveying earthly things, the great diſtance made them appear unto her like a little point, ſcarce to be ſeen, and leſſe to be reſpected.

* *Auguſt. confeſſ. lib. 9. c. 10.*

She died at Oſtia in Italy in the fiftie ſixth yeare of her age, Auguſtine cloſing her eyes, when through griet he had ſcarce any himſelf.

Chap. 3.

The good Husband.

HAving formerly deſcribed a good Wife; ſhe will make a good Husband, whoſe character we are now to preſent.

His love to his wife weakeneth not his ruling her, and his ruling leſſeneth not his loving her. Wherefore he avoideth all fondneſſe, (a ſick love, to be praiſed in none, and pardoned onely in the newly married) whereby more have wilfully betrayed their command, and ever loſt it by their wives rebellion. Methinks the he-viper is right enough ſerved, which (as * Pliny reports) puts his head into the ſhe-vipers mouth, and ſhe bites it off. And what wonder is it if women take the rule to themſelves, which their uxorious husbands firſt ſurrender unto them?

Maxime 1

* *Plin. Nat. hiſt. lib. 10. cap. 62.*

He is conſtant to his wife, and confident of her. And ſure where jealouſie is the Jailour, many break the priſon, it opening more wayes to wickedneſſe then it ſtoppeth; ſo that where it findeth one, it maketh ten diſhoneſt.

2

3 *He alloweth her meet maintenance, but measures it by his own estate*: nor will he give lesse, nor can she ask more. Which allowance, if shorter then her deserts and his desire, he lengtheneth it out with his courteous carriage unto her; chiefly in her sickness, then not so much word-pitying her, as providing necessaries for her.

4 *That she may not intrench on his prerogative, he maintains her propriety in feminine affairs*: yea, therein he follows her advice: For the soul of a man is planted so high, that he overshoots such low matter as lie levell to a womans eye, and therefore her counsell therein may better hit the mark. Causes that are properly of feminine cognizance he suffers her finally to decide, not so much as permitting an appeal to himself, that their jurisdictions may not interfere. He will not countenance a stubborn servant against her, but in her maintains his own Authority. Such husbands as bait the mistris with her maids, and clap their hands at the sport, will have cause to wring them afterwards.

5 *Knowing she is the weaker vessell he bears with her infirmities.* All hard using of her he detests, desiring therein to do not what may be lawfull, but fitting. And grant her to be of a servile nature, such as may be bettered by beating; yet he remembers he hath enfranchised her by marrying her. On her wedding-day she was like S. Paul free born, and priviledged from any servile punishment.

6 *He is carefull that the wounds betwixt them take not ayre, and be publickly known.* Jarres conceald are half reconciled; which if generally known, 'tis a double task to stop the breach at home, and mens mouths abroad. To this end he never publickly reproves her. An open reproof puts her to do penance before all that are present, after which many rather study revenge then reformation.

7 *He keeps her in the wholsome ignorance of unnecessary secrets.* They will not be starved with the ignorance, who perchance may surfet with the knowledge of weighty Counsels, too heavy for the weaker sex to bear. He knows little, who will tell his wife all he knows.

He beats not his wife after his death. One having a ſhrewd wife, yet loth to uſe her hardly in his life time, awed her with telling her that he would beat her when he was dead, meaning that he would leave her no maintenance. This humour is unworthy a worthy man, who will endeavour to provide her a competent eſtate: yet he that impoveriſheth his children to enrich his widow, deſtroyes a quick hedge to make a dead one. 8

CHAP. 4.

The life of ABRAHAM.

I Intend not to range over all his life as he ſtands three-ſquare in relation, Husband, Father, Maſter. We will onely ſurvey and meaſure his conjugall ſide, which reſpecteth his wife.

We reade not that ever he upbraided her for her barrenneſſe, as knowing that naturall defects are not the creatures fault, but the Creatours pleaſure: all which time his love was loyall to her alone. As for his going in to Hagar, it was done not onely with the conſent but by the advice of Sarah, who was ſo ambitious of children ſhe would be made a mother by a proxie. He was not jealous of her (though a grand beauty) in what company ſoever he came. Indeed he feared the Egyptians, becauſe the Egyptians feared not God; ſuſpecting rather them of force, then her of falſeneſſe, and believing that ſooner they might kill him, then corrupt her.

Yet (as well as he loved her) he expected ſhe ſhould do work fit for her calling. *Make ready quickly three meaſures of meal and knead it.* Well may Sarah be cook, where Abraham was caterer, yea where God was gueſt. The print of her fingers ſtill remain in the meal, and of crumbling dow ſhe hath made a laſting monument of her good houſwifry.

Being falſely indited by his wife, he never travers'd the bill,

bill, but compounded with her on her own terms. The caſe this. Hagar being with child by Abraham, her pride ſweld with her belly, and deſpiſeth her miſtreſſe: Sarah, laying her action wrong, ſues Abraham for her maids fault, and appeals to God. I ſee the Plaintiff hath not alwayes the beſt cauſe; nor are they moſt guilty which are moſt blamed. However Abraham paſſes by her peeviſhneſſe, and remits his maid to ſtand or fall to her own miſtreſſe. Though he had a great part in Hagar, he would have none in Hagars rebellion. Maſters which protect their faulty ſervants hinder the proceeding of juſtice in a family.

He did denie himſelf to grant his wives will in a matter of great conſequence. Sarah deſired, *Caſt out this bondwoman and her ſonne.* Oh hard word! She might as well have ſaid, Caſt out of thy ſelf nature and naturall affection. See how Abraham ſtruggles with Abraham, the Father in him ſtriving with the Husband in him, till God moderated with his caſting-voyce, and Abraham was contented to hearken to the counſel of his wife.

Being to ſacrifice Iſaac, we find not that he made Sarah privie to his project. To tell her, had been to torture her, fearing her affections might be too ſtrong for her faith. Some ſecrets are to be kept from the weaker ſex; not alwayes out of a diſtruſt, leſt they hurt the counſel by telling it, but leſt the counſel hurt them by keeping it.

The deareſt Husband cannot bail his wife when death arreſts her. Sarah dies, and Abraham weeps. Tears are a tribute due to the dead. 'Tis fitting that the body when it's ſown in corruption ſhould be watered by thoſe that plant it in the earth. The Hittites make him a fair offer, *In the chiefeſt of our ſepulchres bury thy dead*: But he thinks the beſt of them too bad for his Sarah. Her chaſt aſhes did love to lie alone; he provides her a virgin tombe in the cave of Machpelah, where her corps ſweetly ſleep till he himſelf came to bed to her, and was buried in the ſame grave.

CHAP. 5.

CHAP. 5.

The good Parent.

HE beginneth his care for his children not at their birth but conception, giving them to God to be, if not (as * Hannah did) his Chaplains, at leaſt his Servants. This care he continueth till the day of his death, in their Infancy, Youth, and Mans eſtate. In all which,

* 1. Sam. 1. 11.

Maxime 1

He ſheweth them in his own practice what to follow and imitate; and in others, what to ſhun and avoid. For though *The words of the wiſe be as* * *nayles faſtened by the maſters of the Aſſemblies*, yet ſure their examples are the hammer to drive them in to take the deeper hold. A father that whipt his ſonne for ſwearing, and ſwore himſelf whileſt he whipt him, did more harm by his example then good by his correction.

* Eccles 12. 11.

2

He doth not welcome and imbrace the firſt eſſayes of ſinne in his children. Weeds are counted herbs in the beginning of the ſpring: nettles are put in pottage, and ſallads are made of eldern-buds. Thus fond fathers like the oaths and wanton talk of their little children, and pleaſe themſelves to heare them diſpleaſe God. But our wiſe Parent both inſtructs his children in Piety, and with correction blaſts the firſt buds of profaneneſſe in them. He that will not uſe the rod on his child, his child ſhall be uſed as a rod on him.

3

* *Gives each child a part*, Verſteg. *Of decayed intell.* cap. 3.

He obſerveth * *Gavel-kind in dividing his affections, though not his eſtate.* He loves them (though leaves them not) all alike. Indeed his main land he ſettles on the eldeſt: for where man takes away the birth-right, God commonly takes away the bleſsing from a family. But as for his love, therein, like a well-drawn picture, he eyes all his children alike (if there be a parity of deſerts) not parching one to drown another. Did not that mother ſhew little wit in her great partiality, to whom when her neglected ſonne complained that his brother (her darling) had hit and hurt him with a ſtone, whipt him onely for ſtanding in the way where the ſtone went which his brother caſt? This partiality is tyrannie, when

when Parents deſpiſe thoſe that are deformed, enough to bre k them whom God had bowed before.

4 *He allows his children maintenance according to their quality*; Otherwiſe it will make them baſe, acquaint them with bad company and ſharking tricks; and it makes them ſurfet the ſooner when they come to their eſtates. It is obſerved of camels, that having travelled long without water through landy deſerts, * *Imp'entur cum bibendi eſt occaſio & in præteritum & in futurum*: and ſo theſe thirſty heirs ſoak it when they come to their means, who whileſt their fathers were living might not touch the top of his money, and think they ſhall never feel the bottom of it when they are dead.

* Plin Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 8. c. 18.

5 *In chooſing a profeſſion he is directed by his childs diſpoſition*: whoſe inclination is the ſtrongeſt indenture to bind him to a trade. But when they ſet Abel to till the ground, and ſend Cain to keep ſheep; Jacob to hunt, and Etau to live in tents; drive ſome to ſchool, and others from it; they commit a rape on nature, and it will thrive accordingly. Yet he humours not his child when he makes an unworthy choice beneath himſelf, or rather for eaſe then uſe, pleaſure then profit.

6 *If his ſonne prove wild he doth not caſt him off ſo farre, but he marks the place where he lights.* With the mother of Moſes, he doth not ſuffer his ſonne ſo to ſink or ſwim, but he leaves one to * ſtand afarre off to watch what will become of him. He is carefull whileſt he quencheth his luxury, not withall to put out his life. The rather, becauſe their ſouls, who have broken and run out in their youth, have proved the more healthfull for it afterwards.

* Exod. 2. 4.

7 *He moves him to marriage rather by argument drawn from his good, then his own authority.* It is a ſtyle too Princely for a Parent herein, To will and command, but ſure he may will and deſire. Affections like the conſcience are rather to be led then drawn; and 'tis to be feared, They that marry where they do not love, will love where they do not marry.

8 *He doth not give away his loaf to his children, and then come to them for a piece of bread.* He holds the reins (though looſely)

in

in his own hands, and keeps to reward duty, and punish undutifulnesse; yet on good occasion for his childrens advancement he will depart from part of his means. Base is their nature who will not have their branches lopt, till their bodie be fell'd; and will let go none of their goods, as if it presaged their speedy death: whereas it doth not follow that he that puts off his cloke must presently go to bed.

On his death-bed he bequeaths his blessing to all his children: Nor rejoyceth he so much to leave them great portions, as honestly obtained. Onely money well and lawfully gotten is good and lawfull money. And if he leaves his children young, he principally nominates God to be their Guardian, and next him is carefull to appoint provident overseers. 9

Chap. 6.

The good Child.

He reverenceth the person of his Parent though old, poore, and froward. As his Parent bare with him when a child, he bears with his Parent if twice a child: nor doth his dignity above him, cancell his duty unto him. When * Sr. Thomas More was Lord Chancellour of England, and Sr. John his father one of the Judges of the Kings Bench, he would in Westminster-Hall beg his blessing of him on his knees. *Maxime* 1

* *Stapleton. in vita* Tho. Mori, *cap.* 1.

He observes his lawfull commands, and practiseth his precepts with all obedience. I cannot therefore excuse S. Barbara from undutifulnesse, and occasioning her own death. The matter this. Her father being a pagan commanded his workmen building his house, to make two windows in a room: Barbara, knowing her fathers pleasure, in his absence injoyned them to make * three, that seeing them she might the better contemplate the mystery of the holy Trinity. (Methinks two windows might as well have raised her meditations, and the light arising from both, would as properly have minded her of the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father & the Sonne.) Her father enraged at his return, thus came to 2

* *Alphons. Villeg. in the life of Barbara on the 4. of Decemb.*

the knowledge of her religion, and accuſed her to the magiſtrate, which coſt her her life.

3 *Having practiſed them himſelf, he entayls his Parents precepts on his poſterity.* Therefore ſuch inſtructions are by Solomon, Proverbs 1. 9. compared to frontlets and chains (not to a ſute of clothes, which ſerves but one, and quickly wears out, or out of faſhion) which have in them a reall laſting worth, and are bequeathed as legacies to another age. The ſame counſels obſerved are chains to grace, which neglected prove halters to ſtrangle undutifull children.

4 *He is patient under correction, and thankfull after it.* When Mr Weſt, formerly Tutour (ſuch I count *in loco parentis*) to Dr. Whitaker, was by him, then *Regius Profeſſor*, created Doctour, Whitaker ſolemnly gave him thanks before the Univerſity for giving him correction when his young ſcholar.

5 *In marriage he firſt and laſt conſults with his father* : when propounded, when concluded. He beſt bowls at the mark of his own contentment, who beſides the aim of his own eye, is directed by his father, who is to give him the ground.

6 *He is a ſtork to his parent, and feeds him in his old age.* Not onely if his father hath been a pelican, but though he hath been an eſtridge unto him, and neglected him in his youth. He confines him not a long way off to a ſhort penſion, forfeited if he comes in his preſence ; but ſhews piety at home, and learns (as S. Paul ſaith the 1. Timothy 5. 4.) to requite his Parent. And yet the debt (I mean onely the principall, not counting the intereſt) cannot fully be paid, and therefore he compounds with his father to accept in good worth the utmoſt of his endeavour.

7 *Such a child God commonly rewards with long life in this world.* If he chance to die young, yet he lives long that lives well ; and time miſpent is not lived but loſt. Beſides, God is better then his promiſe, if he takes from him a long leaſe, and gives him a free-hold of better value. As for diſobedient children,

8 *If preſerved from the gallows, they are reſerved for the rack, to be tortured*

tortured by their own poſteritie. One complained, that never father had ſo undutifull a child as he had. Yes, ſaid his ſonne, with leſſe grace then truth, my grandfather had.

I conclude this ſubject with the example of a Pagans ſonne, which will ſhame moſt Chriſtians. Pomponius * Atticus, making the funerall oration at the death of his mother, did proteſt that living with her threeſcore and ſeven years, he was never reconciled unto her, *Se nunquam cum matre in gratiam rediiſſe*; becauſe (take the comment with the text) there never happened betwixt them the leaſt jarre which needed reconciliation.

* *In vita Attici in fine Epiſt. ad Attic.*

Chap. 7.
The good Maſter.

HE is the heart in the midſt of his houſhold, *primum vivens & ultimum moriens*, firſt up and laſt abed, if not in his perſon yet in his providence. In his carriage he aimeth at his own and his ſervants good, and to advance both.

He overſees the works of his ſervants. One ſaid *that the duſt that fell from the maſters ſhooes was the beſt compoſt to manure ground.* The lion * out of ſtate will not run whilſt any one looks upon him, but ſome ſervants out of ſlothfulneſſe will not run except ſome do look upon them, ſpurr'd on with their Maſters eye. Chiefly he is carefull exactly to take his ſervants reckonings. If their Maſter takes no account of them, they will make ſmall account of him, and care not what they ſpend who are never brought to an audit. *Maxime* 1

* *Plin nat. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 16.*

He provides them victualls, wholſome, ſufficient and ſeaſonable. He doth not ſo allay his ſervants bread to debaſe it ſo much as to make that ſervants meat which is not mans meat. He alloweth them alſo convenient reſt and recreation, whereas ſome Maſters, like a bad conſcience, will not ſuffer them to ſleep that have them. He remembers the old law of the Saxon King Ina, * *If a villain work on Sunday by his lords command, he ſhall be free.* 2

* *S. H. Spilman in conciliis An. ch. 692. pag. 188.*

The wages he contracts for he duly and truly payes to his ſervants. 3

The lame word in the Greek ἰὸς ſignifies *ruſt* and *poyſon*: and ſome ſtrong poyſon is made of the ruſt of metalls, but none more venemous then the ruſt of money in the rich mans purſe unjuſtly detained from the labourer, which will poyſon and infect his whole eſtate.

4 *He never threatens * his ſervant but rather preſently corrects him.* Indeed conditionall threatnings with promiſe of pardon on amendment are good and uſefull. Abſolute threatnings torment more, reform leſſe, making ſervants keep their faults, and forſake their Maſters: wherefore herein he never paſſeth his word, but makes preſent paiment, leſt the creditour runne away from the debtour.

* *Epheſ.* 6. 9

5 *In correcting his ſervant, he becomes not a ſlave to his own paſsion.* Not cruelly making new indentures of the fleſh of his apprentice. To this end he never beats him in the height of his paſsion. Moſes being to fetch water out of the rock, and commanded by God onely to ſpeak to it with his rod in his hand, being tranſported with anger ſmote it thrice. Thus ſome Maſters, which might fetch penitent tears from their ſervants with a chiding word (onely ſhaking the rod withall for terrour) in their fury ſtrike many blows which might better be ſpared. If he perceives his ſervant incorrigible, ſo that he cannot waſh the black-moore, he waſheth his hands of him, and fairly puts him away.

6 *He is tender of his ſervant in his ſickneſſe and age.* If crippled in his ſervice, his houſe is his hoſpitall: yet how many throw away thoſe dry bones out of the which themſelves have ſuckt the marrow? It is as uſuall to ſee a young ſerving-man an old beggar, as to ſee a light-horſe firſt from the great ſaddle of a Nobleman to come to the hackney-coach, and at laſt die in drawing a carre. But the good Maſter is not like the cruell hunter, in the fable, who beats his old dogge becauſe his toothleſſe mouth let go the game; he rather imitates the noble nature of our Prince Henry, who took order for the keeping of an * old Engliſh maſtiffe which had made a Lion runne away. Good reaſon good ſervice in age ſhould be rewarded. Who can without pity and

* *Howes continuat. of Stows Chron. pag.* 836.

pleaſure,

pleaſure behold that truſty veſſell which carried Sr. Francis Drake about the world.

Hitherto our diſcourſe hath proceeded of the carriage of Maſters towards free covenant ſervants, not intermedling with their behaviour towards ſlaves and vaſſals, whereof we onely report this paſſage: When Charles the fifth Emperour returning with his fleet from Algier was extremely beaten with a tempeſt, and their ſhips overloaden, he cauſed them to caſt their beſt horſes into the ſea to ſave the life of many * ſlaves, which according to the market price was not ſo much worth. Are there not many that in ſuch a caſe had rather ſave Jack the horſe then Jocky the keeper. And yet thoſe who firſt called England *the Purgatory of ſervants*, ſure did us much wrong: Purgatory it ſelf being as falſe in the application to us, as in the doctrine thereof; ſervants with us living generally on as good conditions as in any other countrey. And well may maſters conſider how eaſie a tranſpoſition it had been for God, to have made him to mount into the ſaddle that holds the ſtirrop; and him to ſit down at the table, who ſtands by with a trencher.

* *Pantaleon part. 3. De illuſt. Germ. & alii autores.*

Chap. 8.

The good Servant.

HE is one that out of conſcience ſerves God in his Maſter, and ſo hath the principle of obedience in himſelf. As for thoſe ſervants who found their obedience on ſome externall thing, with engines, they will go no longer then they are wound, or weighed up.

He doth not diſpute his Maſters lawfull will, but doeth it. Hence it is that ſimple ſervants (underſtand ſuch whoſe capacity is bare meaſure, without ſurpluſage equall to the buſineſſe he is uſed in) are more uſefull, becauſe more manageable, then abler men, eſpecially in matters wherein not their brains but hands are required. Yet if his Maſter out of want of experience injoyns him to do what is hurtfull, and prejudiciall to his own eſtate, duty herein makes him undutifull (if not *Maxime* 1

to deny, to demurre in his performance) and chuſing rather to diſpleaſe then hurt his maſter, he humbly repreſents his reaſons to the contrary.

2 *He loves to go about his buſineſſe with cheerfulneſſe.* One ſaid, *He loved to heare his carter though not his cart to ſing. God loveth a cheerfull giver*; and Chriſt reproved the Phariſees for diſfiguring their faces with a ſad countenance. Fools! who to perſwade men that Angels lodged in their hearts, hung out a devil for a ſigne in their faces. Sure cheerfulneſſe in doing renders a deed more acceptable. Not like thoſe ſervants, who doing their work unwillingly, their looks do enter a proteſtation againſt what their hands are doing.

3 *He diſpatcheth his buſineſſe with quickneſſe and expedition.* Hence the ſame Engliſh word *Speed* ſignifies celerity, and ſucceſſe; the former in buſineſſe of execution cauſing the latter. Indeed haſte and raſhneſſe are ſtorms and tempeſts, breaking and wrecking buſineſſe; but nimbleneſſe is a fair full wind, blowing it with ſpeed to the haven. As he is good at hand, ſo is he good at length, continually and conſtantly carefull in his ſervice. Many ſervants, as if they had learnd the nature of the beſoms they uſe, are good for a few dayes, and afterwards grow unſerviceable.

4 *He diſpoſeth not of his maſters goods without his privity or conſent*: no not in the ſmalleſt matters. Open this wicket, and it will be in vain for maſters to ſhut the doore. If ſervants preſume to diſpoſe ſmall things without their maſters allowance (beſides that many little leaks may ſink a ſhip) this will widen their conſciences to give away greater. But though he hath not alwayes a particular leave, he hath a generall grant, and a warrant dormant from his maſter to give an almes to the poore in his abſence, if in abſolute neceſsity.

5 *His anſwers to his maſter are true, direct, and dutifull.* If a dumbe devil poſſeſſeth a ſervant, a winding cane is the fitteſt circle, and the maſter the exorciſt to drive it out. Some ſervants are ſo talkative, one may as well command the echo as them not to ſpeak laſt; & then they count themſelves conquerours, becauſe laſt they leave the field. Others, though they ſeem to

yield

yield and go away, yet with the flying Parthians ſhoot backward over their ſhoulders, and dart bitter taunts at their maſters; yea, though with the clock they have given the laſt ſtroke, yet they keep a jarring, muttering to themſelves a good while after.

6 *Juſt correction he bears patiently, and unjuſt he takes cheerfully*; knowing that ſtripes unjuſtly given more hurt the maſter then the man: and the Logick maxime is verified, *Agens agendo repatitur*, the ſmart moſt lights on the ſtriker. Chiefly he diſdains the baſeneſſe of running away.

7 *Becauſe charity is ſo cold, his induſtry is the hotter to provide ſomething for himſelf, whereby he may be maintained in his old age.* If under his maſter he trades for himſelf (as an apprentice may do if he hath * covenanted ſo before-hand) he provides good bounds and ſufficient fences betwixt his own and his maſters eſtate (*Jacob* Gen. 30. 36. *ſet his flock three dayes journey from Labans*) that no quarrell may ariſe about their proprietie, nor ſuſpicion that his remnant hath eaten up his maſters whole cloth.

* *Bracton. lib. 5. tract. 2. cap. 3. num. 7.*

Chap. 9.

The life of Eliezer.

ELiezer was Steward of Abrahams houſhold, Lieutenant generall over the army of his ſervants, ruler over all his Maſter had: the confidence in his loyalty, cauſing the largeneſſe of his commiſsion.

But as for thoſe who make him the founder of Damaſcus, on no other evidence but becauſe he is called *Eliezer of Damaſcus*, they build a great city on too narrow a foundation. It argues his goodneſſe that Abraham, if dying without a ſonne, intended him his heir (a kinſman in grace is neareſt by the ſureſt ſide) till Iſaac ſtepping in ſtopt out Eliezer, and reverſt thoſe reſolutions.

The Scripture preſents us with a remarkable preſident of * his piety, in a matter of great moment: Abraham, being to ſend him into Meſopotamia, cauſed him to ſwear that he would

* *That the nameleſſe ſervant, Gen. 24. was this Eliezer Abrahams ſteward, is the opinion of Luther in his comment on that chapter, Rivet on the ſame, Exercit. 111. with many others.*

would faithfully fetch Iſaac a wife from his own kinred. Eliezer demurr'd awhile before he would ſwear, carefully ſurveying the latitude of the oath, leſt ſome unſeen ambuſhes therein ſhould ſurpriſe his conſcience. The moſt ſcrupulous to take an oath will be the moſt carefull to perform it, whereas thoſe that ſwear it blindly will do it lamely. He objects, *Peradventure the woman will not be willing to follow me.* At laſt being ſatisfied in this quære, he takes the oath: as no honeſt man which means to pay, will refuſe to give his bond if lawfully required.

He takes ten camells (then the coaches of the Eaſt-countrey) with ſervants and all things in good equipage, to ſhew a ſample of his Maſters greatneſſe; and being a ſtranger in the countrey asked direction of him who beſt knew the way, God himſelf. If any object that his craving of a ſigne was a ſigne of infidelity, and unmannerly boldneſſe to confine God to particulars; yet perchance Gods ſpirit prompted him to make the requeſt, who ſometimes moves men to ask what he is minded to give, and his petition ſeemeth juſt becauſe granted.

Rebecca meets him at the well. The lines drawn from every part of the ſigne required centre themſelves in her. *Drink my Lord*, ſaid ſhe, *and I will draw water for thy camells.* Her words Propheſie that ſhe will be a good houſewife, and a good houſekeeper. Eliezers eyes are dazeled with the beams of Gods providence: Her drawing of water drew more wonder from him; and the more he drinks of her pitcher, the more he is athirſt to know the iſſue of the matter. He queſtions her of her parentage, and finds all his myſticall expectation hiſtorically expounded in her. Then he bowed down his head, & did homage to Gods providence, bleſsing him for his protection. Many favours which God giveth us ravell out for want of hemming, through our own unthankfulneſſe: for though prayer purchaſeth bleſsings, giving praiſe doth keep the quiet poſſeſsion of them.

Being come into the houſe, his firſt care is for his cattell, whoſe dumbeneſſe is oratory to a conſcientious man; and

he

he that will not be mercifull to his beaſt, is a beaſt himſelf. Then preferring his meſſage before his meat, he empties his mind before he fills his body. No dainties could be digeſted, whilſt his errand like a crudity lay on his ſtomach.

In delivering his meſſage, firſt he reads his commiſsion, I am Abrahams ſervant; then he reports the fulneſſe of his Maſters wealth without any hyperboles. How many, employed in ſuch a matter, would have made mountains of gold of molehills of ſilver? not ſo Eliezer, reporting the bare truth; and a good eſtate if told, commends it ſelf. As plain alſo is his narration of the paſſages of Gods providence, the artificialneſſe whereof beſt appeard in his naturall relation. Then concludes he, with deſiring a direct anſwer to his motion.

The matter was ſoon transacted betwixt them; for ſeeing that heaven did ask the banes, why ſhould earth forbid them; onely her friends deſire Rebecca ſhould ſtay ten dayes with them, which Eliezer would not yield to. He would ſpeedily finiſh that bargain whereof God had given the happy earneſt; and becauſe bleſt hitherto, make more haſte hereafter. If in a dark buſineſſe we perceive God to guide us by the lantern of his providence, it is good to follow the light cloſe, leſt we loſe it by our lagging behind. He will not truant it now in the afternoon, but with convenient ſpeed returns to Abraham, who onely was worthy of ſuch a Servant, who onely was worthy of ſuch a Maſter.

Chap. 10.

The good Widow.

SHe is a woman whoſe head hath been quite cut off, and yet ſhe liveth, and hath the ſecond part of virginity. Conceive her to have buried her Husband decently according to his quality and condition, and let us ſee how ſhe behaves her ſelf afterwards.

Her grief for her Husband though reall, is moderate. Exceſſive was the ſorrow of King Richard the ſecond beſeeming him *Maxime* 1

him neither as king, man, or Chriſtian, who ſo fervently loved Anna of Bohemia his Queen, that when ſhe dyed at Shean in Surrey, he both curſed the place, and alſo out of madneſſe * overthrew the whole houſe.

* *Weaver fun. monum. p. 473. out of Stows Annals.*

2 *But our Widows ſorrow is no ſtorm but a ſtill rain.* Indeed ſome fooliſhly diſcharge the ſurpluſage of their paſsions on themſelves, tearing their hair, ſo that their friends coming to the funerall, know not which moſt to bemoan the dead husband, or the dying widow. Yet commonly it comes to paſſe, that ſuch widows grief is quickly emptyed, which ſtreameth out at ſo large a vent; whileſt their tears that but drop, will hold running a long time.

3 *She continues a competent time in her Widows eſtate.* Anciently they were, at leaſt, to live out their *annum luctus*, their yeare of ſorrow. But as ſome * erroneouſly compute the long lives of the Patriarks before the flood not by ſolary, but lunary years, making a moneth a yeare: ſo many overhaſty widows cut their yeare of mourning very ſhort, and within few weeks make poſt ſpeed to a ſecond marriage.

* *Vid. Auguſt. de civit. Dei lib. 15. cap. 12.*

4 *She doth not onely live ſole and ſingle, but chaſte and honeſt.* We know peſthouſes alwayes ſtand alone, and yet are full of infectious diſeaſes. Solitarineſſe is not an infallible argument of ſanctity: and it is not enough to be unmarried, but to be undefiled.

5 *Though going abroad ſometimes about her buſineſſe, ſhe never makes it her buſineſſe to go abroad.* Indeed *man goeth forth to his labour*, and a widow in civill affairs is often forced to act a double part of man and woman, and muſt go abroad to ſolicite her buſineſſe in perſon, what ſhe cannot do by the proxie of her friends. Yet even then ſhe is moſt carefull of her credit, and tender of her modeſty, not impudently thruſting into the ſociety of men. Oh 'tis improper for tinder to ſtrike fire, and for their ſexe which are to be ſued to, firſt to intrude, and offer their companie.

6 *She loves to look on her husbands picture, in the children he hath left her*: not fooliſhly fond over them for their fathers ſake (this were to kill them in honour of the dead) but giveth them

them carefull education. Her husbands friends are ever her welcomeſts gueſts, whom ſhe entertaineth with her beſt cheer, and with honourable mention of their friends, and her husbands memorie.

7 *If ſhe can ſpeak little good of him, ſhe ſpeaks but little of him.* So handſomely folding up her diſcourſe, that his virtues are ſhown outwards, and his vices wrapped up in ſilence, as counting it Barbariſme to throw dirt on his memorie who hath moulds caſt on his body. She is a champion for his credit if any ſpeak againſt him Fooliſh is their project who by raking up bad ſavour againſt their former husbands think thereby to perfume their bed for a ſecond marriage.

8 *She putteth her eſpeciall confidence in Gods providence.* Surely if he be *a father to the fatherleſſe*, it muſt need follow that he is an husband to the widow. And therefore ſhe ſeeks to gain and keep his love unto her, by her conſtant prayer and religious life.

9 *She will not morgage her firſt husbands pawns, thereby to purchaſe the good will of a ſecond.* If ſhe marrieth (for which ſhe hath the Apoſtles licence, not to ſay mandate, *I will that the younger widows marry*) ſhe will not abridge her children of that which juſtly belongs unto them. Surely a broken faith to the former is but a weak foundation to build thereon a loyall affection to a latter love. Yet if ſhe becomes a mother in law, there is no difference betwixt her carriage to her own and her ſecond husbands children, ſave that ſhe is ſevereſt to her own, over whom ſhe hath the ſole juriſdiction. And if her ſecond husbands children by a former wife commit a fault, ſhe had rather bind them over to anſwer for it before their own father, then to correct them her ſelf, to avoid all ſuſpicion of hard uſing of them.

PAVLA *Widdow of* Toxotius, *and Mother to* Evſtochium. *She Died at Bethlehem, An° dom* 404 *Aged* 56 *yeares* 8 *moneths* 21 *dayes*
W. M. ſculp:

Chap. II.

The life of the Lady Paula.

WHat? (will ſome ſay) having a wood of widows of upright converſation, muſt you needs gather one crooked with ſuperſtition to be pattern to all the reſt? muſt Paula be their preſident? whoſe life was a very maſſe-book, ſo that if every point of popery were loſt, they might be found in her practice.

Nothing leſſe. Indeed Paula lived in an age which was, as I may ſay, in the knuckle and bending betwixt the primi-

tive

tive times and ſuperſtition, popery being then a hatching, but farre from being fledg'd. Yea no Papiſt (though picking out here and there ſome paſſages which make to his purpoſe) will make her practice in groſſe the ſquare of his own: for where ſhe embraces ſome ſuperſtitions with her left hand, ſhe thruſts away more with her right. I have therefore principally made choice to write her life, that I may acquaint both my ſelf and the reader with the garb of that age in Church-matters, wherein were many remarkable paſſages, otherwiſe I might and would have taken a farre fitter example.

I know two trades together are too much for one man to thrive upon, and too much it is for me to be an Hiſtorian and a Critick, to relate and to judge: yet ſince Paula, though a gratious woman, was guilty of ſome great errours, give me leave to hold a pencil in one hand, and a ſpunge in the other, both to draw her life and daſh it where it is faultie. And let us that live in purer times be thankfull to God for our light, and uſe our quicker ſight to guide our feet in Gods paths, leſt we reel from one extremitie to another.

To come to the Lady Paula's birth: the Nobleſt blood in the world by a confluence ran in her veins. I muſt confeſſe the moſt Ancient Nobilitie is junior to no Nobilitie, when all men were equall. Yet give others leave to ſee Moſes his face to ſhine, when he knew it not himſelf; and ſeeing Paula was pleaſed not to know, but to neglect and trample on her high birth, we are bound to take notice thereof. She was deſcended from * Agamemnon, Scipio, and the Gracchi's, and her husband Toxotius from * Æneas, and the Julian familie; ſo that in their marriage the warres of the Grecians and Trojanes were reconciled.

Some years they lived together in the Citie of Rome, in holy and happy wedlock, and to her husband ſhe bare foure daughters, Bleſilla, Paulina, Euſtochium, and Ruffina. Yet ſtill her husband long'd for poſteritie, like thoſe who are ſo covetous of a male heir, they count none children but ſonnes: and at laſt God, who keeps the beſt for the

* *Hieron. Epiſt. ad Euſtoch. pag.* 185.
* *Idem in eadem epiſt. p.* 172.

cloſe, beſtowed Toxotius, a young ſonne upon her.

But commonly after a great bleſsing comes a great croſſe: ſcarce was ſhe made a mother to a ſonne, when ſhe was made a widow, which to her was a great and grievous affliction. But as a rubbe to an overthrown bowl proves an help by hindering it; ſo afflictions bring the ſouls of Gods Saints to the mark, which otherwiſe would be gone and tranſported with too nuch earthly happineſſe. However Paula grieved little leſſe then excesſively hereat, ſhe being a woman that in all her actions (to be ſure to do enough) made alwayes meaſure with advantage.

Yet in time ſhe overcame her ſorrow, herein being aſſiſted by the counſel and comfort of S. Hierome, whoſe conſtant frequenting of her, commented upon by his enemies malice (which will pry narrowly and talk broadly) gave occaſion to the report, that he accompanied with her for diſhoneſt intents. Surely if the accuſations of ſlanderous tongues be proofs, the primitive times had no Churches but ſtews. It is to be ſuſpected that * Ruffin his ſworn enemie raiſed the report; and if the Lady Paula's memorie wanted a compurgatour, I would be one my ſelf, it being improbable that thoſe her eyes would burn with luſt which were conſtantly drownd with tears. But the reader may find S. Hierome purging * himſelf; and he who had his tongue and an innocent heart needed no body elſe to ſpeak for him.

* *Eraſmus in ſcholia in epitaphium Paulæ p.* 193.

* *In epiſtola quæ incipit,* Si tibi putem, *tom.* 2. *fol.* 368.

It happened that the Biſhops of the Eaſt and Weſt were ſummoned by the * Emperours letters to appear at Rome for the according of ſome differences in the Church. (It ſeemes by this that the Pope did not ſo command in chief at Rome, but that the power of congregating Synods ſtill reſided in the Emperour. Hither came Paulinus Biſhop of Antioch, and Epiphanius Biſhop of Salamine in Cyprus, who lodged at the Lady Paula's, and his virtues ſo wrought upon her, that ſhe determined to leave her native countrey, and to travel into the Eaſt, and in Judea to ſpend the remainder of her life. The reaſons that moved her to remove, was becauſe Rome was a place of riot and luxury, her ſoul being

* *Hieronym. Epiſt. prædict. pag.* 172.

being almoſt ſtifled with the frequencie of Ladyes viſits; and ſhe feared courteſie in her would juſtle out piety, ſhe being fain to crowd up her devotions to make room for civill entertainments. Beſides, of her own nature ſhe ever loved privacie and a ſequeſtred life, being of the Pelicans nature, which uſe not to flie in flocks. Laſtly, ſhe conceived that the ſight of thoſe holy places would be the beſt comment on the Hiſtory of the Bible, and faſten the paſſages thereof in her mind. Wherefore ſhe intended to ſurvey all Paleſtine,& at laſt to go to Bethlehem, making Chriſts inne her home, and to die there where he was born, leaving three of her daughters, and her poore infant Toxotius behind her.

For mine own part, I think ſhe had done as acceptable a deed to God, in ſtaying behind to rock her child in the cradle, as to viſit Chriſts manger, ſeeing Grace doth not cut of the affections of nature but ripen them: the rather, becauſe Chriſtianity is not naild to Chriſts croſſe and mount Calvary, nor Piety faſtned (as we may ſay) to the freehold of the land of Paleſtine. But if any Papiſt make her a pattern for pilgrimages, let them remember that ſhe went from Rome: and was it not an unnaturall motion in her to move from that centre of Sanctitie?

She with her daughter Euſtochium began her journie, and taking Cyprus in her way, where ſhe viſited Epiphanius, ſhe came at laſt to Judea. She meaſured that countrey with her travelling, and drew the trueſt mappe thereof with her own feet, ſo accurately that ſhe left out no particular place of importance. At laſt ſhe was fixed at Bethlehem, where ſhe built one monaſterie for men, and three for women. It will be worth our pains to take notice of ſome principall of the orders ſhe made in thoſe feminine Academies; becauſe Paula's practice herein was a leading caſe, though thoſe that came after her went beyond her. For in the rules of monaſticall life, Paula ſtood at the head game, and the Papiſt in after ages, deſirous to better her hand, drew themſelves quite out.

Each monaſterie had a chief matrone, whilſt Paula was

Principall over all. Theſe ſocieties were ſeverd at their meat and work, but met together at their prayers : they were carefully kept apart from men, not like thoſe Epicœne monaſteries not long ſince invented by Joan Queen of Sweden, wherein men and women lived under one roof, not to ſpeak of worſe libertines. Well were Nunnes called *Recluſes*, which according to the true meaning of the word ſignifie thoſe which are ſet wide open, or left at libertie, though that Barbarous age miſtook the ſenſe of the word, for ſuch as were ſhut up, and might not ſtirre out of their * Cloyſter.

* *Littleton fol. 92.*

They uſed to ſing Halelujah, which ſerv'd them both for a pſalm, and a bell to call them all together. In the * morning, at nine a clock, at noon, at three a clock in the afternoon, and at night they had prayers, and ſang the pſalmes in order. This I believe gave originall to canonicall houres. The Apoſtles precept is the plain ſong, *Pray continually* ; and thus mens inventions ran their deſcants upon it, and confin'd it to certain houres. A practice in it ſelf not ſo bad for thoſe who have leiſure to obſerve it, ſave that when devotion is thus artificially plaited into houres it may take up mens minds in formalities to neglect the ſubſtance.

* Mane, horâ tertiâ, ſextâ, nonâ, veſperi. *Hieron. in præfat. Epiſt. p.* 180. *ſurely living in Paleſtine he meaneth the Jewiſh computation of houres.*

They roſe alſo at midnight to ſing pſalmes. A cuſtome begun before in the time of perſecution, when the Chriſtians were forced to be Antipodes to other men, ſo that when it was night with others, it was day with them, and they then began their devotions. Theſe night-prayers, begun in neceſsitie, were continued in Paula's time in gratefull remembrance, and ſince corrupted with ſuperſtition : the beſt is, their riſing at midnight breaks none of our ſleep.

Theſe virgins did every day learn ſome part of the holy Scriptures ; whereas thoſe Nunnes which pretend to ſucceed them learn onely with poſt horſes to run over the ſtage of their beads (ſo many Ave Maries, and Pater noſters) and are ignorant in all the Scripture beſides. Such as were faultie, ſhe cauſed to take their meat apart from others at the entrance of the dining-room ; with which mild ſeveritie ſhe reclaimed many : ſhame

in

in ingenuous natures making a deeper impreſsion then pain. Mean time I find amongſt them no vow of virginitie, no tyrannicall Penance, no whipping themſelves ; as if not content to interre their ſinnes in Chriſts grave, they had rather bury them in furrows digg'd in their own backs. They wrought hard to get their living, and on the Lords day alone went out of their monaſterie to hear Gods word.

Yet was ſhe more rigid and ſevere towards her ſelf, then to any of them, macerating her body with faſting, and refuſing to drink any wine, when adviſed thereto by Phyſicians for her health. So that (as an * holy man complained of himſelf, whileſt he went about to ſubdue an enemie he killd a ſubject) ſhe overturned the ſtate of her bodie, and whileſt ſhe thought to ſnuff the candle put it quite out. Yea S. Hierome himſelf, what his Eloquence herein doth commend in her, his Charity doth excuſe, and his Judgement doth * condemne. But we muſt Charitably believe that theſe her faſtings proceeded out of true humiliation and ſorrow for her ſinnes ; otherwiſe where opinion of merit is annexed to them, they are good onely to fill the body with wind, and the ſoul with pride. Certainly prodigious Popiſh ſelf-penance is will-worſhip, and the pureſt Epicuriſme, wherein pain is pleaſant : for as long as people impoſe it on themſelves, they do not deny their own will, but fulfill it ; and whileſt they beat down the body they may puff up the fleſh.

* *Bernard. devot. devotis*

Nor can her immoderate bounty be excuſed, who gave all and more then all away, taking up money at intereſt to give to the poore, and leaving Euſtochium her daughter deep in debt, a great charge, and nothing to maintain it. Sure none need be more bountifull in giving then the Sunne is in ſhining, which though freely beſtowing his beams on the world keeps notwithſtanding the body of light to himſelf. Yea it is neceſſary that Liberality ſhould as well have banks as a ſtream.

She was an excellent text-woman, yea could ſay the holy Scriptures by heart, and attained to underſtand and ſpeak the Hebrew tongue, a language which Hierome himſelf got

* Hæc refero, non quòd inconſideranter & ultra vires ſumta onera probem, *p.* 181.

with great difficultie, and kept with conſtant uſe (skill in Hebrew will quickly go out, and burn no longer then 'tis blown) yet ſhe in her old age did ſpeedily learn it. She diligently heard Hierome expounding the old and new Teſtament, asking him many doubts, and Quæres in difficult places (ſuch conſtant ſcouring makes our knowledge brighter) and would not ſuffer his judgement to ſtand neuter in hard points, but made him expreſſe the probable opinion.

Moſt naturally flie from death ; Gods Saints ſtand ſtill till death comes to them ; Paula went out to meet it, not to ſay, call'd death unto her by conſuming her ſelf in faſting : ſhe died in the fiftie ſixth yeare of her age, and was ſolemnly buried in Bethlehem. People of all countreys flockt to her funerall : Biſhops carried her corps to the grave : others carried torches and lamps before it, which though ſome may condemne to be but burning of day was no more then needed, ſhe being buried in a cave or grot as an * eyewitneſſe doth teſtifie. Pſalmes were ſung at her buriall in the Hebrew, Greek, Latine, and Syriack tongue, it being fit there ſhould be a key for every lock, and languages to be underſtood by all the miſcelany company there preſent.

** G. Sandys Travells, pag. 179.*

Euſtochium her daughter had little comfort to be Executrix or Adminiſtratrix unto her, leaving her not a pennie of monie, great debts, and many brothers and ſiſters to provide for, *quos ſuſtentare arduum, abjicere impium.* I like not this charitie reverſed, when it begins farre off and neglects thoſe at home.

To conclude, I can do her memorie no better right, then to confeſſe ſhe was wrong in ſomethings. Yet ſurely Gods Glory was the mark ſhe ſhot at, though herein the hand of her practice did ſometime ſhake, and oftener the eye of her judgement did take wrong aim.

Chap. 12.

The conſtant Virgin.

IS one who hath made a reſolution with herſelf to live chaſte, and unmarryed. Now there is a grand difference betwixt a Reſolution and a Vow. The former is a covenant drawn up betwixt the party and herſelf; and commonly runs with this clauſe, *durante noſtro beneplacito*, as long as we ſhall think fitting; and therefore on juſt occaſion ſhe may give a releaſe to herſelf. But in a vow God is intereſted as the Creditour, ſo that except he be pleaſed to give up the band, none can give an acquittance to themſelves. Being now to deſcribe the Virgin, let the reader know that virginity belongs to both ſexes; and though in Courteſie we make our Maid a female, let not my pen be challenged of improprietie, if caſually ſometimes it light on the Maſculine Gender.

Maxime 1

She chooſeth not a ſingle life ſolely for its ſelf, but in reference to the better ſerving of God. I know none but beggars that deſire the Church-Porch to lye in, which others onely uſe as a paſſage into the Church. Virginity is none of thoſe things to be deſired in and for it ſelf, but becauſe it leads a more convenient way to the worſhipping of God, eſpecially in time of perſecution. For then if Chriſtians be forced to run races for their lives, the unmarryed have the advantage, lighter by many ounces, and freed from much encumbrance, which the married are ſubject to; who, though private Perſons, herein are like Princes, they muſt have their train follow them.

2

She improveth her ſingle life therewith to ſerve God the more conſtantly. Houſekeepers cannot ſo exactly mark all their family-affairs, but that ſometimes their ranks will be broken; which diſorder by neceſſary conſequence will diſturb their duties of pietie, to make them contracted, omitted; or unſeaſonably performed. The Apoſtle ſaith, *Such ſhall have troubles in the fleſh*; and grant them ſanctified

troubles, yet even Holy-thiſtle and Sweet-brier have their prickles. But the Virgin is freed from theſe encumbrances. No lording Husband ſhall at the ſame time command her preſence and diſtance, to be alwayes near in conſtant attendance, and alwayes to ſtand aloof off in an awfull obſervance; ſo that providing his break-faſt hazards her ſoul to faſt a meal of morning prayer: No crying Children ſhall drown her ſinging of pſalmes, and put her devotion out of tune: No unfaithfull Servants ſhall force her to divide her eyes betwixt lifting them up to God and caſting them down to overſee their work; but making her Cloſet her Chappell, ſhe freely enjoyeth God and good thoughts at what time ſhe pleaſeth.

3 *Yet in all her diſcourſe ſhe maketh an honourable mention of marriage.* And good reaſon that virginity ſhould pay a chief rent of honour unto it, as acknowledging her ſelf to be a *colonia deducta* from it. Unworthy is the practice of thoſe who in their diſcourſe plant all their arguments point-blank to batter down the married eſtate, bitterly inveighing againſt it; yea baſe is the behaviour of ſome young men, who can ſpeak nothing but Satyres againſt Gods ordinance of Matrimony, and the whole ſex of women. This they do either out of deep diſſimulation, to divert ſuſpicion, that they may prey the fartheſt from their holes; or elſe they do it out of revenge: having themſelves formerly lighted on bad women (yet no worſe then they deſerved) they curſe all adventures becauſe of their own ſhipwrack; or laſtly they do it out of mere ſpight to nature and God himſelf: and pity it is but that their fathers had been of the ſame opinion. Yet it may be tolerable if onely in harmleſſe mirth they chance to beſtow a jeſt upon the follyes of married people. Thus when a Gentlewoman told an ancient Batchelour who look'd very young, that ſhe thought he had eaten a ſnake; *No miſtris* (ſaid he) *it is becauſe I never meddled with any ſnakes which maketh me look ſo young.*

4 *She counts her ſelf better loſt in a modeſt ſilence then found in a bold diſcourſe.* Divinity permits not women to ſpeak in the Church;

Church; morality forbids maids to talk in the Houſe, where their betters are preſent. She is farre from the humours of thoſe, who (more bridling in their chinnes then their tongues) love in their conſtant prating to make ſweet muſick to their own ears, and harſh jarring to all the reſt of the company: yea as ſome report of ſheep, that when they runne they are afraid of the noiſe of their own feet ; ſo our Virgin is afraid to heare her own tongue runne in the preſence of graver perſons. She conceives the bold maintaining of any argument concludes againſt her own civil behaviour ; and yet ſhe will give a good account of any thing whereof ſhe is queſtioned, ſufficient to ſhew her ſilence is her choice, not her refuge. In ſpeaking ſhe ſtudiouſly avoids all ſuſpicious expreſsions, which wanton apprehenſions may colourably comment into obſcenity.

She bluſheth at the wanton diſcourſe of others in her company. As 5
fearing that being in the preſence where treaſon againſt modeſty is ſpoken, all in the place will be arraigned for principall : yea if ſilent, ſhe is afraid to be taken to conſent ; if offering to confute it, ſhe fears leſt by ſtirring a dunghill, the ſavour may be more noyſome. Wherefore that ſhe may not ſuffer in her title to modeſty, to preſerve her right ſhe enters a ſilent caveat by a bluſh in her cheeks, and embraceth the next opportunity to get a gaole-delivery out of that company where ſhe was detained in durance. Now becauſe we have mentioned Bluſhing, which is ſo frequent with virgins that it is called *a maidens bluſh*, (as if they alone had a patent to die this colour) give us leave a little to enlarge our ſelves on this ſubject.

1 *Bluſhing oftentimes proceeds from guiltineſſe* ; when the offender being purſued after ſeeks as it were to hide himſelf under the viſard of a new face.

2 *Bluſhing is othertimes rather a compurgatour then an accuſer* ; not ariſing from guiltineſſe in our Virgin, but from one of theſe reaſons : Firſt becauſe ſhe is ſurpriſed with a ſudden accuſation, and though armed with innocency, that ſhe cannot be pierced, yet may ſhe be amazed with ſo unexpected

unexpected a charge. Secondly from ſenſibleneſſe of diſgrace, aſhamed, though innocent, to be within the ſuſpicion of ſuch faults, and that ſhe hath carried her ſelf ſo that any tongue durſt be ſo impudent as to lay it to her charge. Thirdly from a diſability to acquit her ſelf at the inſtant (her integrity wanting rather clearing then clearneſſe) and perchance ſhe wants boldneſſe to traverſe the action, and ſo non-ſuiting her ſelf, ſhe fears her cauſe will ſuffer in the judgements of all that be preſent : and although accuſed but in jeſt, ſhe is jealous the accuſation will be believed in earneſt ; and edg'd tools thrown in merriment may wound reputations. Fourthly out of mere anger : for as in fear the blood makes not an orderly retreat but a confuſed flight to the heart ; ſo in bluſhing the blood ſallies out into our Virgins cheeks, and ſeems as a champion to challenge the accuſer for wronging her.

3 *Where ſmall faults are committed bluſhing obtaines a pardon of courſe with ingenuous beholders.* As if ſhe be guilty of caſuall incivilities, or ſolœciſmes in manners occaſioned by invincible ignorance, and unavoidable miſtakes, in ſuch a caſe bluſhing is a ſufficient penance to reſtore her to her ſtate of innocencie.

6 *She impriſons not her ſelf with a ſolemn vow never to marry.* For firſt, none know their own ſtrength herein. Who hath ſailed about the world of his own heart, ſounded each creek, ſurveied each corner, but that ſtill there remains therein much *terra incognita* to himſelf ? Junius, at the firſt little better then a * Miſogyniſt, was afterwards ſo altered from himſelf, that he ſucceſsively married foure wives. Secondly, fleſhly corruption being pent will ſwell the more, and Shemei being confin'd to Jeruſalem will have the greater mind to gad to Gath. Thirdly, the devil will have a fairer ſet mark to ſhoot at, and will be moſt buſie to make people break their vow. Fourthly, God may juſtly deſert people for ſnatching that to themſelves, which is moſt proper for him to give, I mean, Continency. Object not, that thou wilt pray

* *Junius in his life writ by himſelf.*

pray to him to take from thee all deſire of marriage, it being madneſſe to vow that one will not eat, and then pray to God that he may not be hungry. Neither ſay that now thou may'ſt preſume on thy ſelf, becauſe thou art well ſtricken in years, for there may happen an autumne-ſpring in thy ſoul; and luſt is an unmannerly gueſt, we know not how late in the evening of our lives it may intrude into us for a lodging.

She counts it virginitie to be unſpotted, not unmarried. Or elſe 7
even in old age, when nature hath given an inhibition, they may be ſtrong in deſiring who are weak in acting of wickedneſſe; yea they may keep ſtews in their hearts, and be ſo pregnant and ingravidated with luſtfull thoughts, that they may as it were die in travail becauſe they cannot be delivered. And though there be no fire ſeen outwardly, as in the Engliſh chymnies, it may be hotter within, as in the Dutch ſtoves; and as well the devils as the Angels in heaven, *neither marry nor are given in marriage.*

As ſhe lives with leſſe care, ſo ſhe dies with more cheerfulneſſe. 8
Indeed ſhe was rather a ſojourner, then an inhabitant in this world, and therefore forſakes it with the leſſe grief. In a word, the way to heaven is alike narrow to all eſtates, but farre ſmoother to the Virgin then to the married. Now the great advantage Virgins have to ſerve God above others, and high favours he hath beſtowed on ſome of them, ſhall appear in this Virgin propheteſſe, whoſe life we come to preſent.

CHAP. 13.

HILDEGARDIS *a Virgin Propheteſs, Abbeſs of* S^t Rvperts *Nunnerye. She died at Bingen A^o Do: 1180. Aged 82 yeares.*

W: Marſhall ſculpsit.

Chap. 13.

The life of Hildegardis.

Hildegardis was born in Germany, in the County of Spanheim, in the yeare 1098. So that ſhe lived in an age which we may call the firſt cock-crowing after the midnight of Ignorance and Superſtition.

Her parents (Hidebert, and Mechtilda) dedicated her to God from her infancie: And ſurely thoſe whoſe Childhood, with Hildegardis, hath had the advantage of pious education may be ſaid to have been good time out of mind,

as

as not able to remember the beginning of their own goodneſſe. At eight years of age ſhe became a Nunne under S. Juttta ſiſter to Megenhard, Earl of Spanheim, and afterwards ſhe was made Abbeſſe of S. Ruperts Nunnery in Bingen on Rhene in the Palatinate.

Men commonly do beat and bruiſe their links before they light them, to make them burn the brighter: God firſt humbles and afflicts whom he intends to illuminate with more then ordinary grace. Poore Hildegardis was conſtantly and continually ſick, and ſo * weak that ſhe very ſeldome was ſtrong enough to go. But God who denied her legs, gave her wings, and railed her high-mounted ſoul in Viſions and Revelations.

* Fuerunt ei ab ipſa penè infantia crebri ac ferè continui languorum dolores, ità ut pedum inceſſu perrarò uteretur, *Theod. Abbas in vita Hildegardis: lib.* 1. *cap.* 2.

I know a generall ſcandall is caſt on Revelations in this ignorant age; firſt, becauſe many therein intitled the Meteors of their own brain to be Starres at leaſt, and afterwards their Revelations have been revealed to be forgeries: ſecondly, becauſe that night-raven did change his black feathers into the ſilver wings of a dove, and transforming himſelf into an Angel of light deluded many with ſtrange raptures and viſions, though in their nature farre different from thoſe in the Bible. For S. Paul in his Revelations was caught up into the third heaven; whereas moſt Monks with a contrary motion were carried into hell and purgatorie, and there ſaw apparitions of ſtrange torments. Alſo S. Johns Revelation forbids all additions to the Bible, under heavy penalties; their viſions are commonly on purpoſe to piece out the Scripture, and to eſtabliſh ſuch ſuperſtitions as have no footing in Gods word.

However all held Hildegardis for a Prophet, being induced thereunto by the pietie of her life: no breck was ever found in her veil, ſo ſpotleſſe was her converſation; by the ſanctity of her writings, and by the generall approbation the Church gave unto her. For Pope Eugenius the third, after exact examination of the matter, did in the Councell of Trevers (wherein S. Bernard was preſent) allow and priviledge her Revelations for authenticall. She was of the Popes Conclave, and Em-

perours Counſel, to whom they had recourſe in difficulties: yea the greateſt torches of the Church lighted themſelves at her candle. The Patriarch of Jeruſalem, the Biſhops of Mentz, Colen, Breme, Trevers ſent ſuch knots as poſed their own fingers to our Hildegardis to untie.

* *Trithemius de Scriptor. Eccleſ. fol. 92.*

She never learn'd word of Latine; and yet * therein would ſhe fluently expreſſe her Revelation to thoſe notaries that took them from her mouth; ſo that throwing words at randome ſhe never brake Priſcian's head: as if the Latine had learn'd to make it ſelf true without the ſpeakers care. And no doubt, he that brought the ſingle parties to her married them alſo in her mouth, ſo that the ſame Spirit which furniſhed her with Latine words, made alſo the true Syntaxis. Let none object that her very writing of fiftie eight Homilies on the Goſpel is falſe conſtruction, where the feminine Gender aſſumes an employment proper to men: for though S. Paul ſilenceth women for ſpeaking in the Church, I know no Scripture forbids them from writing on Scripture.

Such infuſed skill ſhe had alſo of Muſick, whereof ſhe was naturally ignorant, and wrote a whole book of verſes very good according to thoſe times. Indeed in that age the trumpet of the warlike Heroick, and the ſweet harp of the Lyrick verſe, were all turned into the gingling of Cymballs, tinckling with rhythmes, and like-ſounding cadencies.

But let us heare a few lines of her Prophecies, and thence gueſſe the reſt. *In thoſe dayes there ſhall riſe up a people without underſtanding, proud, covetous, and deceitfull, the which ſhall eat the ſinnes of the people, holding a certain order of fooliſh devotion under the feigned cloke of beggery. Alſo they ſhall inſtantly preach without devotion or example of the holy Martyrs, and ſhall detract from the ſecular Princes, taking away the Sacraments of the Church from the true paſtours, receiving almes of the poore, having familiarity with women, inſtructing them how they ſhall deceive their husbands, and rob their husbands to give it unto them,* * &c. What could be ſaid more plain to draw out to the life thoſe Mendicant friers (rogues by Gods ſtatutes) which afterwards ſwarm'd in the world.

* *See much more to this purpoſe in Catalog. Teſtium veritatis in Hildegarde: Alſo in Foxes Acts and monuments, p. 461.*

Hear alſo how ſhe foretold the low water of Tiber, whileſt

as

as yet it was full tide there. *The Kings and other Rulers of the world, being ſtirred up by the juſt judgement of God, ſhall ſet themſelves againſt them, and run upon them, ſaying, We will not have theſe men to reigne over us with their rich houſes, and great poſſeſſions, and other worldly riches, over the which we are ordained to be Lords and Rulers: and how is it meet or comely that thoſe ſhavelings with their ſtoles and cheſils ſhould have more ſouldiers or richer armour and artillery then we? wherefore let us take away from them what they do not juſtly but wrongfully poſſeſſe.*

It is well the Index expurgatorius was not up in thoſe dayes, nor the Inquiſition on foot, otherwiſe dame Hildegardis muſt have been call'd to an after account. I will onely ask a Romaniſt this queſtion, This Propheſie of Hildegardis, was it from heaven or from men? If from heaven, why did ye not believe it? If from men, why did the Pope allow it, and canonize her?

As for miracles, which ſhe wrought in her life time, their number is as admirable as their nature. I muſt confeſſe at my firſt reading * of them, my belief digeſted ſome, but ſurfeted on the reſt: for ſhe made no more to caſt out a devil, then a barber to draw a tooth, and with leſſe pain to the patient. I never heard of a great feaſt made all of Cordialls: and it ſeems improbable that miracles (which in Scripture are uſed ſparingly, and chiefly for converſion of unbelievers) ſhould be heaped ſo many together, made every dayes work, and by her commonly, conſtantly, and ordinarily, wrought. And I pray why is the Popiſh Church ſo barren of true works nowadayes here wrought at home amongſt us? For as for thoſe reported to be done farre of, it were ill for ſome if the gold from the Indies would abide the touch no better then the miracles.

* *In Lipoman. in vitis Sanct. Tom. 5. fol. 91. & ſequen.*

However Hildegardis was a gratious Virgin, and God might perform ſome great wonders by her hand; but theſe *piæ fraudes* with their painting have ſpoyled the naturall complexion of many a good face, and have made Truth it ſelf ſuſpected. She dyed in the 82. yeare of her age, was afterwards Sainted by the Pope, and the 17 day of September aſſign'd to her memory.

I cannot forget how Udalrick Abbat of Kempten in Germany made a moſt * courteous law for the weaker ſexe, That no woman, guilty of what crime ſoever, ſhould ever be put to death in his dominions, becauſe two women condemn'd to die were miraculouſly delivered out of the priſon by praying to S. Hildegardis.

* *Bruſchius De monaſter. & Centuriatores, Centur. 11. Col. 350.*

Chap. 14.

The Elder Brother.

IS one who made haſt to come into the world to bring his Parents the firſt news of male-poſterity, and is well rewarded for his tidings. His compoſition is then accounted moſt pretious when made of the loſſe of a double Virginitie.

Maxime 1 *He is thankfull for the advantage God gave him at the ſtarting in the race into this world.* When twinnes have been even match'd, one hath gained the gole but by his length. S. * Auguſtine ſaith, *That it is every mans bounden duty ſolemnly to celebrate his birth day.* If ſo, Elder Brothers, may beſt afford good cheer on the feſtivall.

* *Quæſtionibus ex utroque mixtim Tom. 40. Col. 8. 4.*

2 *He counts not his inheritance a Writ of eaſe to free him from induſtry:* As if onely the Younger Brothers came into the world to work, the Elder to complement. Theſe are the Toppes of their houſes indeed, like cotlofts, higheſt and emptieſt. Rather he laboureth to furniſh himſelf with all gentile accompliſhment, being beſt able to go to the coſt of learning. He need not fear to be ſerved as Ulrick Fugger was (chief of the noble family of the Fuggers in Auſpurg) who was diſinherited of a great patrimony onely for his * ſtudiouſneſſe, and expenſiveneſſe in buying coſtly Manuſcripts.

* *Thuan. de obit. vir. doct. in Ann.* 1584.

3 *He doth not ſo remember he is an Heire, that he forgets he is a Sonne.* Wherefore his carriage to his Parents is alwayes reſpectfull. It may chance that his father may be kept in a charitable Priſon, whereof his Sonne hath the keyes; the old man being onely Tenant for life, and the lands entaild on our young Gentleman. In ſuch a caſe when it is in his power, if neceſsity requires, he enlargeth his father

to

to ſuch a reaſonable proportion of liberty as may not be injurious to himſelf.

He rather deſires his fathers Life then his Living. This was one of the principall reaſons (but God knows how true) why Philip the ſecond, King of Spain, cauſed in the yeare 1568. Charles his Eldeſt Sonne to be executed for plotting his fathers death, as was pretended. And a * Wit in ſuch difficult toyes accommodated the numerall letters in Ovids verſe to the yeare wherein the Prince ſuffered. 4

* *Opmerus was the Authour thereof: Famianus Strada de bello Belgico lib. 7. pag. 432.*

FILIVs ante DIeM patrIos InqVIrIt In annos.
1568.
Before the tIMe. the oVer-haſty ſonne
Seeks forth hoVV near the fathers LIfe Is Done.
1568.

But if they had no better evidence againſt him but this poeticall Synchroniſme, we might well count him a martyr.

His fathers deeds and grants he ratifies and confirms. If a ſtitch be fallen in a leaſe, he will not widen it into an hole by cavilling, till the whole ſtrength of the grant run out thereat; or take advantage of the default of the Clark in the writing where the deed appears really done, and on a valuable conſideration: He counts himſelf bound in honour to perform what by marks and ſignes he plainly underſtands his father meant, though he ſpake it not out. 5

He reflecteth his luſtre to grace and credit his younger brethren. Thus Scipio Africanus, after his great victories againſt the Carthaginians and conquering of Hannibal, was content to ſerve as a * Lieutenant in the warres of Aſia, under Lucius Scipio his younger Brother. 6

* *Plutar. in the life of Scipio.*

He relieveth his diſtreſſed kindred, yet ſo as he continues them in their calling. Otherwiſe they would all make his houſe their hoſpitall, his kindred their calling. When one being an Husbandman challenged kindred of Robert Groſthead Biſhop of Lincoln, and thereupon requeſted favour of him to beſtow an office on him, *Couſen* (quoth the Biſhop) *if your cart be broken, I'le mend it; if your plough old, I'le give you a new one, and ſeed to ſow your land: but an Husbandman I found you, and an* 7

Husbandman I'le leave you. It is better to eaſe poore kindred in their Profeſsion, then to eaſe them from their Profeſsion.

8 *He is carefull to ſupport the credit and dignity of his family*: neither waſting his paternall eſtate by his unthriftineſſe, nor marring it by parcelling his ancient mannours and demeſnes amongſt his younger children, whom he provides for by annuities, penſions, moneys, leaſes, and purchaſed lands. He remembers how when our King Alfred divided the river of Lee (which parts Hartfordſhire and Eſſex) into three ſtreams, it became ſo ſhallow that boats could not row, where formerly ſhips did ride. Thus the ancient family of the Woodfords (which had long continued in Leiceſterſhire and elſewhere in England in great account, eſtate and livelihood) is at this day quite extinct. For when Sr. Thomas Woodford in the reigne of King Henrie the ſixth made almoſt an even partition of his means betwixt his five Grandchildren, the Houſe in ſhort ſpace utterly decay'd; not any part of his lands now in the * tenure or name of any of his male line, ſome whereof lived to be brought to a low ebbe of fortune. Yet on the other ſide to leave all to the eldeſt, and make no proviſion for the reſt of their children, is againſt all rules of religion, forgetting their Chriſtian-name to remember their Sir-name.

*Burton in his deſcrip. of Leiceſterſhire, p. 264.

Chap. 15.

The Younger Brother.

SOme account him the better Gentleman of the two, becauſe ſonne to the more ancient Gentleman. Wherein his Elder Brother can give him the hearing, and a ſmile into the bargain. He ſhares equally with his Elder Brother in the education, but differs from him in his portion, and though he giveth alſo his Fathers Armes, yet to uſe the Herauld's language, he may ſay,

This to my Elder Brother I muſt yield,
I have the Charge *but he hath all the* Field.

Like herein to a young nephew of Tarquines in Rome, who

who was called * *Egereus*, from wanting of maintenance, because his Grandfather left him nothing. It was therefore a mannerly answer which a young Gentleman gave to King James, when he asked him what kinne he was to such a Lord of his name: *Please your Majestie* (said he) *my Elder Brother is his Cousen german.*

* *Livi. lib.* 1.

He repines not at the Providence of God in ordering his birth. Heirs are made, even where matches are, both in heaven. Even in twinnes God will have one next the doore to come first into the world.

Maxime 1

He labours by his endeavours to date himself an Elder Brother. Nature makes but one; Industry doth make all the sonnes of the same man Heirs. The fourth Brother gives a Martilet for the difference of his Armes: a bird * observed to build either in Castles, Steeples, or Ships; shewing that the bearer hereof, being debarr'd from all hopes of his fathers inheritance, must seek by warre, learning, or merchandize to advance his estate.

2

* *Gerard Leigh in his 9. differences of Brothers Armes.*

In warre he cuts out his fortunes with his own sword. William the Conquerour, when he first landed his forces in England, burnt all his ships; that despair to return might make his men the more valiant. Younger Brothers, being cut off at home from all hopes, are more zealous to purchase an honourable support abroad. Their small Arteries with great Spirits have wrought miracles, and their resolution hath driven successe before it. Many of them have adventured to cheapen dear enterprises, and were onely able to pay the earnest, yet fortune hath accepted them for chapmen, and hath freely forgiven them the rest of the payment for their boldnesse.

3

Nor are they lesse happy if applying themselves to their book. Nature generally giving them good wits, which because they want room to burnish may the better afford to soar high.

4

But he gaineth more wealth if betaking himself to merchandize. Whence often he riseth to the greatest annuall honour in the kingdome. Many families in England though not first raised from the City, yet thence have been so restored and enriched that it may seem to amount to an originall raising. Neither doth an apprentishp extinguish native,

5

nor diſinable to acquiſitive Gentry; and they are much miſtaken who hold it to be in the nature of bondage. For firſt, his indenture is a civill contract, whereof a bondman is uncapable: ſecondly, no work can be baſe preſcribed in reference to a noble end, as theirs is that learn an honeſt myſtery to inable them for the ſervice of God and the Countrey: thirdly, they give round ſummes of money to be bound. Now if apprentiſhip be a ſervitude, it is either a pleaſing bondage, or ſtrange madneſſe to purchaſe it at ſo dear a rate. Gentry therefore may be ſuſpended perchance, and aſleep during the apprentiſhip, but it awakens afterwards.

6 *Sometimes he raiſeth his eſtate by applying himſelf to the Court.* A paſture wherein Elder brothers are obſerved to grow lean, and Younger Brothers fat. The reaſons whereof may be theſe.

1 Younger Brothers, being but ſlender in eſtate, are eaſier bowed to a Court-complyance then Elder Brothers, who ſtand more ſtiff on their means, and think ſcorn to crave what may be a Princes pleaſure to grant, and their profit to receive.

2 They make the Court their calling, and ſtudie the myſterie thereof, whileſt Elder Brothers, divided betwixt the Court and the Countrey, can have their endeavours deep in neither, which run in a double channell.

3 Elder Brothers ſpend highly in proportion to their eſtates, expecting afterwards a return with increaſe, which nowithſtanding never payes the principall: and whileſt they thus build ſo ſtately a ſtair-caſe to their preferment, the Younger Brothers get up by the back ſtairs in a private ſilent way, little expence being expected from them that have little.

7 *Sometimes he lighteth on a wealthy match to advance him.* If meeting with one that is Pilot of her own affections, to ſteer them without guidance of her friends, and ſuch as diſdaineth her marriage ſhould be contracted in an exchange, where joynture muſt weigh every grain even to the portion. Rather ſhe counts it an act both of love and charity to affect one

one rich in deſerts, who commonly hath the advantage of birth, as ſhe hath of means, and ſo it's made levell betwixt them. And thus many a young Gentleman hath gotten honourable maintenance by an Heireſſe, eſpecially when the crying of the child hath cauſed the laughing of the father.

8 *His means the more hardly gotten are the more carefully kept.* Heat gotten by degrees, with motion and exerciſe, is more naturall and ſtayes longer by one, then what is gotten all at once by coming to the fire. Goods acquired by induſtry prove commonly more laſting then lands by deſcent.

9 *He ever oweth his Elder Brother with dutifull reſpect*: yea though God ſhould ſo bleſſe his endeavours as to go beyond him in wealth and honour. The pride of Jeſuites is generally taxed, who being the youngeſt of all other Orders, and therefore by canon to go laſt, will never go in * Proceſsion with other Orders, becauſe they will not come behind them.

* *Vid. Preface to the Jeſuites Catechiſm.*

10 *Sometimes the Paternall inheritance falls to them who never hoped to riſe to it.* Thus John, ſirnamed Sans-terre, or, Without land, having five Elder Brothers came to the kingdome of England, death levelling thoſe which ſtood betwixt him and his Crown. It is obſerv'd of the * Coringtons, an ancient familie in Cornwall, that for eight lineall deſcents never any one that was born heir had the land, but it ever fell to Younger Brothers.

* *Carew Survey of Cornwall fol.* 117.

To conclude, there is a hill in Voitland (a ſmall countrey in Germany) called *Feitchtelberg*, out of which ariſe foure rivers running foure ſeverall wayes, viz. 1. Eger, Eaſt, 2. Menus, Weſt, 3. Sala, North, and 4. Nabus, South: ſo that he that ſees their fountains ſo near together would admire at their falls ſo farre aſunder. Thus the younger ſons iſſuing out of the ſame mothers wombe and fathers loyns, and afterwards embracing different courſes to trie their fortunes abroad in the world, chance often to die farre off, at great diſtance, which were all born in the ſame place.

The

The Holy State.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

The good Advocate.*

* *We take it promiſcuouſly for Civil or Common Lawyer.*

HE is one that will not plead that cauſe, wherein his tongue muſt be confuted by his conſcience. It is the praiſe of the Spaniſh ſouldier, that (whileſt all other Nations are mercenary, and for money will ſerve on any ſide) he will never fight againſt his own King: nor will our Advocate againſt the Sovereigne Truth, plainly appearing to his conſcience.

Maxime 1 *He not onely hears but examines his Client, and pincheth the cauſe, where he fears it is foundred.* For many Clients in telling their caſe rather plead then relate it, ſo that the Advocate hears not the true ſtate of it, till opened by the adverſe party. Surely the Lawyer that fills himſelf with inſtructions will travell longeſt in the cauſe without tiring. Others that are ſo quick in ſearching, ſeldome ſearch to the quick; and thoſe miraculous apprehenſions who underſtand more then all, before the Client hath told half, runne without their errand, and will return without their anſwer.

2 *If the matter be doubtfull, he will onely warrant his own diligence.* Yet ſome keep an Aſſurance-office in their chamber, & will warrant any cauſe brought unto them, as knowing that if they

they fail they lose nothing but what long since was lost, their credit.

3 *He makes not a Trojan-siege of a suit, but seeks to bring it to a set battel in a speedy triall.* Yet sometimes suits are continued by their difficulty, the potencie and stomach of the parties, without any default in the Lawyer. Thus have there depended suits in *Gloceſter-shire, betwixt the Heirs of the Lord Barkley, and Sr. Thomas Talbot Viscount Lisle, ever since the reigne of King Edward the fourth untill now lately they were finally compounded.

*Cambdens Brit. in Gloceſt.

4 *He is faithfull to the side that first retains him.* Not like *Demosthenes, who secretly wrote one oration for Phormio, and another in the same matter for Apolidorus his adversary.

*Plutarch. in vita Demoſth.

5 *In pleading he shoots fairly at the head of the cause, and having fastened, no frowns nor favours shall make him let go his hold.* Not snatching aside here and there, to no purpose, speaking little in much, as it was said of Anaximenes, *That he had a flood of Words, and a drop of reason.* His boldnesse riseth or falleth as he apprehends the goodnesse or badnesse of his cause.

6 *He joyes not to be retain'd in such a suit, where all the right in question, is but a drop blown up with malice to be a bubble.* Wherefore in such triviall matters he perswades his Client to sound a retreat, and make a composition.

7 *When his name is up, his industry is not down, thinking to plead not by his study but his credit.* Commonly Physicians like beer are best when they are old, and Lawyers like bread when they are young and new. But our Advocate grows not lazie. And if a leading case be out of the road of his practice, he will take pains to trace it thorow his books, and prick the footsteps thereof wheresoever he finds it.

8 *He is more carefull to deserve, then greedy to take fees.* He accounts the very pleading of a poore widows honest cause sufficient fees, as conceiving himself then the King of Heavens Advocate, bound *ex officio* to prosecute it. And although some may say that such a Lawyer may even go live in Cornwall,

Cornwall, where it is * obſerved that few of that profeſsion hitherto have grown to any great livelihood, yet ſhall he (beſides thoſe two felicities of * common Lawyers, that they ſeldome die either without heirs or making a will) find Gods bleſsing on his proviſions and poſterity.

* *Carew Sur. of Cornwall, fol. 60.*

* *Coke in his Preface to Littletons Tenures.*

We will reſpit him a while till he comes to be a Judge, and then we will give an example of both together.

Chap. 2.

The good Phyſician.

Maxime 1 HE *truſteth not the ſingle witneſſe of the water if better teſtimony may be had.* For reaſons drawn from the urine alone are as brittle as the urinall. Sometimes the water runneth in ſuch poſt-haſt through the ſick mans body, it can give no account of any thing memorable in the paſſage, though the moſt judicious eye examine it. Yea the ſick man may be in the ſtate of death, and yet life appear in his ſtate.

2 *Coming to his patient he perſwades him to put his truſt in God the fountain of health.* The neglect hereof hath cauſed the bad ſucceſſe of the beſt Phyſicians: for God will manifeſt that though skill come mediately from him to be gotten by mans pains, ſucceſſe comes from him immediately to be diſpoſed at his pleaſure.

3 *He hanſells not his new experiments on the bodies of his patients*; letting looſe mad receipts into the ſick mans body, to try how well Nature in him will fight againſt them, whileſt himſelf ſtands by and ſees the battel, except it be in deſperate caſes when death muſt be expell'd by death.

4 *To poore people he preſcribes cheap but wholeſome medicines*: not removing the conſumption out of their bodies into their purſes; nor ſending them to the Eaſt Indies for drugs, when they can reach better out of their gardens.

Leſt

Lest his Apothecary should oversee, he oversees his Apothecary. 5
For though many of that profession be both able and honest, yet some out of ignorance or haste may mistake: witnesse one of Bloys, * who being to serve a Doctours bill, instead of *Optimi* (short written) read *Opii*, and had sent the patient asleep to his grave, if the Doctours watchfulnesse had not prevented him; worse are those who make wilfull errours, giving one thing for another. A prodigall who had spent his estate was pleased to jeer himself, boasting that he had cosened those who had bought his means; They gave me (said he) good new money, and I sold them my Great-great-grandfathers old land. But this cosenage is too too true in many Apothecaries, selling to sick folk for new money antiquated drugs, and making dying mens Physick of dead ingredients.

* *Stephens Apology for Herodotus lib. 1. cap. 16.*

He brings not news with a false spie that the coast is clear till death surprises the sick man. 6
I know Physicians love to make the best of their patients estate. First 'tis improper that *Adjutores vitæ* should be *Nuncii mortis*. Secondly, none, with their good will, will tell bad news. Thirdly, their fee may be the worse for't. Fourthly, 'tis a confessing that their art is conquer'd. Fifthly, it will poyson their patients heart with grief, and make it break before the time. However they may so order it, that the party may be inform'd of his dangerous condition, that he be not outed of this world before he be provided for another.

When he can keep life no longer in, he makes a fair and easie passage for it to go out. 7
He giveth his attendance for the facilitating and asswaging of the pains and agonies of death. Yet generally 'tis death to a Physician to be with a dying man.

Unworthy pretenders to Physick are rather foils then stains to the Profession. 8
Such a one was that counterfeit, who called himself *The Baron of* * *Blackamore*, and feigned he was sent from the Emperour to our young King Henry the sixth, to be his principall Physician: but his forgery being discover'd, he

* *Stowes Survey of London pag. 55.*

he was apprehended, and executed in the Tower of London, *Anno* 1426. and ſuch the world daily ſwarms with. Well did the Poets feigne Æſculapius and Circe, brother and ſiſter, and both children of the Sunne: for in all times in the opinion of the multitude, witches, old women, and impoſtours have had a competition with Phyſicians. And commonly the moſt ignorant are the moſt confident in their undertakings, and will not ſtick to tell you what diſeaſe the gall of a dove is good to cure. He took himſelf to be no mean Doctour, who being guilty of no Greek, & being demanded why it was called an *Hectick fever; becauſe* (ſaith he) *of an hecking cough which ever attendeth that diſeaſe.* And here it will not be amiſſe to deſcribe the life of the famous Quackſalver Paracelſus, both becauſe it is not ordinarily to be met with, and that men may ſee what a monſter many make a miracle of learning, and propound him their pattern in their practice.

CHAP. 3.

Phyſick Profeſsor at Basil.
Philip Theophraſtus PARACELSUS *He died at Saltzburge An°. Dom: 1540. aged 47 yeares.*
W. Marſhall ſculpsit.

Chap. 3.

The life of Paracelsus.

PHilip Theophraſtus Bombaſtus of Hoenhaim, or Paracelſus, born as he ſaith himſelf in the wilderneſſe of Helvetia, *Anno* 1493. of the noble and ancient family of the Hoenhaims. But Thomas Eraſtus making ſtrict enquiry after his pedigree found none of his name or kinred in that place. Yet it is fit ſo great a Chymiſt ſhould make himſelf to be of noble extraction: And let us believe him to be of high deſcent, as perchance born on ſome mountain in Switzerland.

*In præfatione Chirurgiæ magnæ.

* Sennertus de Chymicorum conſenſu, cap. 4. pag. 35.

* Bickerus in Hermete redivivo.

As for his Education, he himſelf* boaſts that he lived in moſt Univerſities of Europe; ſurely rather as a traveller then a ſtudent, and a vagrant then a traveller, Yea ſome will not allow him ſo much, and * one who hath exactly meaſured the length of his life, though crowding his pretended travells very cloſe, finds not room enough for them. But 'tis too ridiculous what a * Scholar of his relates, that he lived ten years in Arabia to get learning, and converſed in Greece with the Athenian Philoſophers. Whereas in that age Arabia the Happy was accurſed with Barbariſme, and Athens grown a ſtranger to her ſelf; both which places being then ſubjected to the Turks, the very ruines of all learning were ruin'd there. Thus we ſee how he better knew to act his part, then to lay his Scene, and had not Chronologie enough to tell the clock of time, when and where to place his lies to make them like truth.

The firſt five and twenty years of his age he lived very civilly; being thirty years old he came to Baſil, juſt at the alteration of Religion, when many Papiſts were expell'd the Univerſity, & places rather wanted Profeſſours, then Profeſſours places. Here by the favour of Oecolampadius he was admitted to reade Phyſick, and for two years behaved himſelf fairly, till this accident cauſed his departure. A rich * Canon of Baſill being ſick promiſed Paracelſus an hundred florens to recover him, which being reſtored to his health he denied to pay. Paracelſus ſues him, is caſt in his ſuit, the Magiſtrate adjudging him onely an ordinary fee, becauſe the cure was done preſently with a few pills. The Phyſician enraged hereat talked treaſon againſt the State in all his diſcourſes, till the nimbleneſſe of his tongue forc'd the nimbleneſſe of his feet, and he was fain to fly into Alſatia. Here keeping company with the Gentry of the countrey, he gave himſelf over to all licentiouſneſſe: His body was the ſea wherein the tide of drunkenneſſe was ever ebbing and flowing; for by putting his finger in his throat he uſed to ſpew out his drink and drunkenneſſe together, and from that inſtant date himſelf ſober to return to his cups again. Every moneth he had a

* Bezoldus conſideratione vitæ & mort. p. 76. ex Andræa Jociſio.

new

new ſute, not for pride but neceſsity; his apparel ſerving both for wearing and bedding : and having given his clothes many vomits, he gave them to the poore. Being Codrus over night, he would be Crœſus in the morning, fluſh of money as if he carried the inviſible Indies in his pocket : ſome ſuſpected the devil was his purſebearer, and that he carried a ſpirit in the pomel of his ſword his conſtant companion, whileſt others maintain that by the heat of the furnace he could ripen any metall into gold.

All the diet he preſcribed his patients was this, to eat what, and how often, they thought fitting themſelves, and yet he did moſt ſtrange cures. Like the quickſilver (he ſo much dealt with) he would never be fixt in one place, or live any where longer then a twelvemoneth : for ſome obſerve that by that time the maladies reverted again, which he formerly cured. He gave ſo ſtrong phyſick as ſummoned Nature with all her force to expell the preſent diſeaſe, but the remnant dregs thereof afterwards reinforcing themſelves did aſſault Nature tired out with the violence of her former task, and eaſily ſubdued it.

His Scholars brag that the fragments of his learning would feaſt all the Philoſophers in the world, boaſting that the gout, the diſgrace of Phyſick, was the honour of Paracelſus, who by curing it removed that ſcandall from his profeſsion : whereas others ſay he had little Learning, and leſſe Latine. When any asked him the name of an herb he knew not, he would tell them there was no * uſe thereof in Phyſick; & yet this man would undertake not onely to cure men, but to cure the Art of curing men, and reform Phyſick it ſelf.

* *Beroldus ut priùs, pag. 77.*

As for his religion, it would as well poſe himſelf as others to tell what it was. He boaſted that ſhortly he would order Luther and the Pope, as well as he had done Galen and Hipocrates. He was never ſeen to pray, and ſeldome came to Church. He was not onely skilled in naturall Magick (the utmoſt bounds whereof border on the ſuburbs of hell) but is charged to converſe conſtantly with familiars. Guilty he was of all vices but wantonneſſe; and I find an * honeſt man

* *Oporinus in Epiſt. de Paracelſo.*

his Compurgatour, that he was not given to women; perchance he drank himſelf into wantonneſſe & paſt it, quenching the fire of his luſt by piling fuell too hard and faſt upon it.

Boaſting that he could make a man immortall, he himſelf died at fourty ſeven years in the City of Saltzburg. His Scholars ſay he was poyſoned through the envy (that dark ſhadow ever waiting on a ſhining merit) and malice of his adverſaries. However his body ſhould have been ſo fenced with antidotes, that the battery of no poyſon might make a breach therein; except we impute it more to his neglect then want of skill, and that rather his own ſecurity then his enemies malice brought him to his grave. But it may be he was willing to die, counting a twelvemoneths time enough to ſtay in one place, and fourty ſeven years long enough to live in one world. We may more admire that ſo beaſtly a drunkard lived ſo long, then that ſo skilfull a man died ſo ſoon. In a word, He boaſted of more then he could do, did more cures ſeemingly then really, more cures really then lawfully; of more parts then learning, of more fame then parts; a better Phyſician then a man, a better Chirurgeon then Phyſician.

Chap. 4.

The Controverſiall Divine.

HE is Truths Champion to defend her againſt all adverſaries, Atheiſts, Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and Erroneous perſons whatſoever. His ſufficiency appears in Oppoſing, Anſwering, Moderating, and Writing.

Maxime 1 *He engageth both his judgement, and affections in oppoſing of falſehood.* Not like countrey Fencers, who play onely to make ſport, but like Duellers indeed, as if for life and limbe; chiefly if the queſtion be of large proſpect, and great concernings, he is zealous in the quarrell. Yet ſome, though their judgement weigh down on one ſide, the beam of their affections ſtand ſo even, they care not which part prevails.

In

In oppoſing a truth, de diſſembles himſelf her foe, to be her better friend. Wherefore he counts himſelf the greateſt conquerour when Truth hath taken him captive. With Joſeph having ſufficiently ſifted the matter in a diſguiſe, he diſcovereth himſelf, * *I am Joſeph your brother*, and then throws away his viſard. Diſhoneſt they, who though the debt be ſatisfied will never give up the bond, but continue wrangling, when the objection is anſwered. 2

* Gen. 45. 4.

He abſtains from all foul and railing language. What? make the Muſes, yea the Graces ſcolds? Such purulent ſpittle argues exulcerated lungs. Why ſhould there be ſo much railing about the body of Chriſt? when there was none about the body of Moſes in the Act kept betwixt the devil and Michael the Archangel. 3

He tyrannizeth not over a weak and undermatch'd Adverſary; but ſeeks rather to cover his weakneſſe if he be a modeſt man. When a Profeſſour preſſed an Anſwerer (a better Chriſtian then a Clerk) with an hard argument, *Reverende Profeſſor* (ſaid he) *ingenuè confiteor me non poſſe reſpondere huic argumento.* To whom the Profeſſour, *Rectè reſpondes.* 4

In anſwering he ſtates the queſtion, and expoundeth the terms thereof. Otherwiſe the diſputants ſhall end, where they ought to have begun, in differences about words, and be Barbarians each to other, ſpeaking in a Language neither underſtand. If the Queſtion alſo be of Hiſtoricall cognizanſe, he ſhews the pedigree thereof, who firſt brew'd it, who firſt broch'd it, and ſends the wandring Errour with a paſport home to the place of its birth. 5

In taking away an objection he not onely puts by the thruſt, but breaks the weapon. Some rather eſcape then defeat an argument, and though by ſuch an evaſion they may ſhut the mouth of the Opponent, yet may they open the difficulty wider in the hearts of the hearers. But our Anſwerer either fairly reſolves the doubt; or elſe ſhews the falſeneſſe of the argument, by beggering the Opponent to maintain ſuch a fruitfull generation of abſurdities, as his argument hath begotten; or laſtly returns and retorts it back upon him again. 6

The first way unties the knot; the second cuts is asunder; the third whips the Opponent with the knot himself tyed. Sure 'tis more honour to be a clear Answerer, then a cunning Opposer, because the latter takes advantage of mans ignorance, which is ten times more then his knowledge.

7 *What his answers want in suddennesse they have in solidity.* Indeed the speedy answer addes lustre to the disputation, and honour to the disputant; yet he makes good payment, who though he cannot presently throw the money out of his pocket, yet will pay it, if but going home to unlock his chest. Some that are not for speedy may be for sounder performance. When Melanchthon at the disputation of Ratisbon was pressed with a shrewd argument by Ecchius, I will answer thee, said he, to morrow. Nay, said Ecchius, do it now or it's nothing worth. Yea, said Melanchthon, I seek the Truth, and not mine own Credit, and therefore it will be as good if I answer thee to * morrow by Gods assistance.

* *Melchior Adam. in vitis Germ. Theolog p.* 339.

8 *In moderating he sides with the Answerer, if the Answerer sides with the truth.* But if he be conceited, and opinioned of his own sufficiency, he lets him swound before he gives him any hot water. If a Paradox-monger, loving to hold strange yea dangerous Opinions, he counts it charity to suffer such a one to be beaten without mercy, that he may be weaned from his wilfulnesse. For the main, he is so a staff to the Answerer, that he makes him stand on his own legs.

9 *In writing, his Latine is pure, so farre as the subject will allow.* For those who are to climbe the Alpes are not to expect a smooth and even way. True it is that Schoolmen, perceiving that fallacy had too much covert under the nap of flourishing Language, used thredbare Latine on purpose, and cared not to trespasse on Grammar, and tread down the fences thereof to avoid the circuit of words, and to go the neareſt way to expresse their conceits. But our Divine though he useth barbarous School-terms, which like standers are fixt to the controversie, yet in his moveable Latine, passages, and digressions his style is pure and elegant.

10 *He affects clearnesse and plainnesse in all his writings.* Some

mens

mens heads are like the world before God ſaid unto it, *Fiat lux.* Theſe dark-lanterns may ſhine to themſelves, and underſtand their own conceits, but no body elſe can have light from them. Thus Matthias Farinator, Profeſſour at Vienna, aſsiſted with ſome other learned men, as the Times then went, was thirty years making a book of applying Plato's, Ariſtotle's, and Galen's rules in Philoſophy, to Chriſt and his Prophets, and 'tis call'd * *Lumen animæ; quo tamen nihil eſt caliginoſius, labore magno, ſed ridiculo, & inani.* But this obſcurity is worſt when affected, when they do as Perſius, of whom * one ſaith, *Legi voluit quæ ſcripſit, intelligi noluit quæ legerentur.* Some affect this darkneſſe, that they may be accounted profound, whereas one is not bound to believe that all the water is deep that is muddy.

* *Mercator Atlas in the deſcript. of Auſtria.*

* *Scalig. de Arte poet. lib. 6. c. 6.*

He is not curious in ſearching matters of no moment. Captain Martin * Forbiſher fetcht from the fartheſt northern Countries a ſhips lading of minerall ſtones (as he thought) which afterwards were caſt out to mend the high wayes. Thus are they ſerved, and miſſe their hopes, who long ſeeking to extract hidden myſteries out of nice queſtions, leave them off, as uſeleſſe at laſt. Antoninus Pius, for his deſire to ſearch to the leaſt differences, was called *Cumini ſector*, the Carver of cumine ſeed. One need not be ſo accurate: for as ſoon ſhall one ſcowr the ſpots out of the moon, as all ignorance out of man. When Eunomius the Heretick vaunted that he knew God and his divinity, S. * Baſil gravells him in 21 queſtions about the body of an ant or piſmire: ſo dark is mans underſtanding. I wonder therefore at the boldneſſe of ſome, who as if they were Lord Marſhalls of the Angels place them in ranks and files. Let us not believe them here, but rather go to heaven to confute them. 11

* *Cambdens Eliſab. anno. 1576.*

* *Epiſt. 168. quæ eſt ad Eunomium.*

He neither multiplies needleſſe, nor compounds neceſſary Controverſies. Sure they light on a labour in vain, who ſeek to make a bridge of reconciliation over the μέγα χάσμα betwixt Papiſts and Proteſtants; for though we go 99 ſteps, they (I mean their Church) will not come one to give us a meeting. And as for the offers of Clara's and private men (beſides that they ſeem 12

ſeem to be more of the nature of baits then gifts) they may make large profers, without any Commiſsion to treat, and ſo the Romiſh Church not bound to pay their promiſes. In * Merionethſhire in Wales there are high mountains, whoſe hanging tops come ſo cloſe together that ſhepherds on the tops of ſeverall hills may audibly talk together, yet will it be a dayes journey for their bodies to meet, ſo vaſt is the hollowneſſe of the vallies betwixt them. Thus upon ſound ſearch ſhall we find a grand diſtance and remoteneſſe betwixt Popiſh and Proteſtant tenents to reconcile them, which at the firſt view may ſeem near, and tending to an accomodation.

* *Giraldus Camb. in deſcr. of Wales.*

13 *He is reſolute and ſtable in fundamentall points of Religion.* Theſe are his fixed poles, and axletree about which he moves, whileſt they ſtand unmoveable. Some ſail ſo long on the Sea of controverſies, toſſ'd up and down, to and fro, *Pro* and *Con*, that the very ground to them ſeems to move, and their judgements grow ſcepticall and unſtable in the moſt ſettled points of Divinity. When he cometh to Preach, eſpecially if to a plain Auditory, with the Paracelſians he extracts an oyl out of the drieſt and hardeſt bodies, and knowing that knotty timber is unfit to build with, he edifies people with eaſie and profitable matter.

WILLIAM WHITACRES Dr. of D: Kinges Professor *and Master of Snt Iohns Coll in* Cambridge. *where He died Ano 1595. Aged 47 yeares.*

W. Marshall sculp:

Chap. 5.

The life of Dr. Whitaker.

William Whitaker born at Holm in the County of Lancaster of good parentage, especially by his mothers side, allied to two worshipfull families. His reverend unckle, Alexander Nowell, Dean of S. Pauls (the first fruits of the English Confessours in the dayes of Queen Marie, who after her death first return'd into England from beyond the Seas) took him young from his parents, sent him first to Pauls School, thence to Trinity Colledge in Cambridge;

bridge; where he ſo profited in his ſtudies, that he gave great promiſes of his future perfection.

I paſſe by his youthfull exerciſes, never ſtriving for the garland, but he wonne and wore it away. His prime appearing to the world, was when he ſtood for the Profeſſours place againſt two Competitours, in age farre his ſuperiours. But the ſeven Electours in the Univerſitie who were to chooſe the Emperour of the Schools, preferring a golden head before ſilver hairs, conferr'd the place on Whitaker; and the ſtrict form of their Election hath no room for corruption. He ſo well acquitted himſelf in the place that he anſwered expectation, the ſtrongeſt opponent in all diſputes and lectures, and by degrees taught envie to admire him.

By this time the Papiſts began to aſſault him, and the Truth. Firſt Campian, one fitter for a Trumpeter then a Souldier, whoſe beſt ability was that he could boaſt in good Latine, being excellent at the flat hand of Rhetorick (which rather gives pats then blows) but he could not bend his fiſt to diſpute. Whitaker both in writing and diſputing did teach him, that it was eaſier to make then maintain a challenge againſt our Church; and in like manner he handled both Duræus, and Sanders, who ſucceſsively undertook the ſame cauſe, ſolidly confuting their arguments.

But theſe Teazers, rather to rouze then pinch the Game, onely made Whitaker find his ſpirits. The fierceſt dog is behind even Bellarmine himſelf, a great ſcholar, and who wanted nothing but a good cauſe to defend, and generally writing ingeniouſly, uſing ſometimes ſlenting, ſeldome down-right railing. Whitaker gave him all fair quarter, ſtating the queſtion betwixt them, yielding all which the other in reaſon could ask, and agreeing on terms to fall out with him, plaid fairly but fiercely on him, till the other forſook the field.

Bellarmine had no mind to reinforce his routed arguments, but rather conſigned over that ſervice to a new Generall, Stapleton an Engliſh man: He was born the ſame *yeare and moneth wherein Sr. Thomas More was beheaded

** Pitzeus, De illuſt. Angl. ſcrip. Ætat. 16. pag. 796.*

beheaded, an obſervation little leſſe then myſticall with the Papiſt, as if God had ſubſtituted him to grow up in the room of the other for the ſupport of the Catholick cauſe. If Whitaker in anſwering him put more gall then uſuall into his ink, Stapleton (whoſe mouth was as foul as his cauſe) firſt infected him with bitterneſſe: and none will blame a man for arming his hands with hard and rough gloves, who is to meddle with bryers and brambles.

Thus they baited him conſtantly with freſh dogs: None that ran at him once deſired a ſecond courſe at him; and as * one obſerves, *Cum nullo hoſte unquam conflixit, quem non fudit & fugavit.*

* *Davenant. in Præfat. De Judice & Norma fidei.*

He filled the Chair with a gracefull preſence, ſo that one needed not to do with him as * Luther did with Melanchthon when he firſt heard him reade, abſtract the opinion and ſight of his ſtature and perſon, leſt the meanneſſe thereof ſhould cauſe an undervaluing of him: for our Whitakers perſon carried with it an excellent port. His ſtyle was manly for the ſtrength, maidenly for the modeſty, and elegant for the phraſe thereof; ſhewing his skill in ſpinning a fine thred out of courſe wool, for ſuch is controverſiall matter. He had by his ſecond wife, a modeſt woman, eight children. It being true of him alſo, what is ſaid of the famous Lawyer * Andreas Tiraquillus, *ſingulis annis ſingulos libros & liberos Reipublicæ dedit.*

* *In epiſt. ad Spalatinum.*

* *Thuanus, obit doct vir. anno 1558.*

My Father hath told me, that he often wiſhed that he might loſe ſo much Learning as he had gotten in after-ſupper ſtudies; on condition he might gain ſo much ſtrength as he had loſt thereby. Indeed his body was ſtrongly built for the naturall temper, and well repair'd by his temperate diet and recreations; but firſt he foundred the foundation of this houſe by immoderate ſtudy, and at laſt the roof was ſet on fire by a hot diſeaſe.

The unhappy controverſie was then ſtarted, Whether juſtifying faith may be loſt. And this thorny queſtion would not ſuffer our Nightingale to ſleep. He was ſent

for up by Arch-biſhop Whitgift to the conference at Lambeth, after which returning home, unſeaſonable riding, late ſtudying, and night-watching brought him to a burning-fever, to which his body was naturally diſpoſed, as appeared by the maſtery of redneſſe in his complexion. Thus loſt he the health of his body, in maintaining, That the health of the ſoul could not be loſt. All agreed that he ſhould be let bloud; which might then eaſily have been done, but was deferred by the fault of ſome about him, till it was too late. Thus, when God intends to cut a mans life off, his deareſt friends by dangerous involuntarie miſtakes ſhall bring the knife. He died in the 47 yeare of his age, *Anno Dom.* 1595. and in S. Johns Colledge (whereof he was Maſter) was ſolemnly interred, with the grief of the Univerſity, and whole Church of God.

Chap. 6.

The true Church Antiquary.

HE is a traveller into former times, whence he hath learnt their language and faſhions. If he meets with an old manuſcript, which hath the mark worn out of its mouth, and hath loſt the date, yet he can tell the age thereof either by the phraſe or character.

Maxime 1 *He baits at middle Antiquity, but lodges not till he comes at that which is ancient indeed.* Some ſcoure off the ruſt of old inſcriptions into their own ſouls, cankering themſelves with ſuperſtition, having read ſo often *Orate pro anima*, that at laſt they fall a praying for the departed; and they more lament the ruine of Monaſteryes, then the decay and ruine of Monks lives, degenerating from their ancient piety and painfulneſſe. Indeed a little skill in Antiquity inclines a man to Popery; but depth in that ſtudy brings him about again to our religion. A Nobleman who had heard of the extreme

treme age of one dwelling not farre off, made a journey to viſit him, and finding an aged perſon ſitting in the chimney-corner, addreſſed himſelf unto him with admiration of his age, till his miſtake was rectified: for, *Oh Sr*, (ſaid the young-old man) *I am not he whom you ſeek for, but his ſonne; my father is farther of in the field.* The ſame errour is daily committed by the Romiſh Church, adoring the reverend brow and gray hairs of ſome ancient Ceremonyes, perchance but of ſome ſeven or eight hundred years ſtanding in the Church, and miſtake theſe for their fathers, of farre greater age in the Primitive times.

2 *He deſires to imitate the ancient Fathers, as well in their Piety, as in their Poſtures.* Not onely conforming his hands and knees, but chiefly his heart to their pattern. O the holineſſe of their living and painfulneſſe of their preaching! how full were they of mortified thoughts, and heavenly meditations! Let us not make the ceremoniall part of their lives onely Canonicall, and the morall part thereof altogether Apocrypha, imitating their devotion not in the fineneſſe of the ſtuff, but onely in the faſhion of the making.

3 *He carefully marks the declination of the Church from the Primitive purity.* Obſerving how ſometimes humble devotion was contented to lie down, whileſt proud ſuperſtition got on her back. Yea not onely Frederick the Emperour, but many a godly Father ſome hundreds of years before held the Pope's ſtirrop, and by their well-meaning ſimplicity gave occaſion to his future, greatneſſe. He takes notice how their Rhetorical hyperboles were afterwards accounted the juſt meaſure of dogmaticall truths; How plain people took them at their word in their funerall apoſtrophes to the dead; How praying for the departed brought the fuell, under which after-ages kindled the fire of Purgatory; How one Ceremony begat another, there being no bounds in will-worſhip, wherewith one may ſooner be wearied then ſatisfied; the

inventours of new Ceremonyes endeavouring to ſupply in number, what their conceits want in ſolidity; How mens ſouls being in the full ſpeed and career of the Hiſtoricall uſe of Pictures could not ſtop ſhort, but muſt laſh out into ſuperſtitions, How the fathers vailing their bonnets to Rome in civill courteſie, when making honourable mention thereof, are interpreted by modern Papiſts to have done it in adoration of the idole of the Popes infallibility. All theſe things he ponders in his heart, obſerving both the times and places, when and where they happened.

4 *He is not zealous for the introducing of old uſeleſſe Ceremonies.* The miſchief is, ſome that are moſt violent to bring ſuch in, are moſt negligent to preach the cautions in uſing them; and ſimple people, like Children in eating of fiſh, ſwallow bones and all to their danger of choking. Beſides, what is obſerved of horſe-hairs, that lying nine dayes in water they turn to ſnakes; ſo ſome Ceremonies though dead at firſt, in continuance of time quicken, get ſtings, and may do much miſchief, eſpecially if in ſuch an age wherein the meddling of ſome have juſtly awaked the jealouſie of all. When many Popiſh tricks are abroad in the countrey; if then men meet with a Ceremonie which is a ſtranger, eſpecially if it can give but a bad account of it ſelf, no wonder if the watch take it up for one on ſuſpicion.

5 *He is not peremptory but conjecturall in doubtfull matters.* Not forcing others to his own opinion, but leaving them to their own libertie; not filling up all with his own conjectures to leave no room for other men: nor tramples he on their credits, if in them he finds ſlips and miſtakes. For here our ſouls have but one eye (the Apoſtle ſaith, *we know in part*) be not proud if that chance to come athwart thy ſeeing ſide, which meets with the blind ſide of another.

6 *He thankfully acknowledgeth thoſe by whom he hath profited.* Baſe natured they, who when they have quenched their own thirſt,

thirſt, ſtop up, at leaſt muddy, the fountain. But our Antiquary, if he be not the firſt Founder of a commendable conceit, contents himſelf to be a Benefactour to it in clearing and adorning it.

He affects not phancy-full ſingularity in his behaviour: Nor cares to have a proper mark in writing of words, to diſguiſe ſome peculiar letter from the ordinary character. Others, for fear travellers ſhould take no notice that skill in Antiquity dwells in ſuch an head, hang out an antique hat for the ſigne, or uſe ſome obſolete garb in their garments, geſtures, or diſcourſe. 7

He doth not ſo adore the Ancients as to deſpiſe the Modern. Grant them but dwarfs, yet ſtand they on giants ſhoulders, and may ſee the further. Sure, as ſtout champions of Truth follow in the rere, as ever march'd in the front. Beſides, as *one excellently obſerves, *Antiquitas ſeculi juventus mundi.* Theſe times are the ancient times, when the world is ancient; and not thoſe which we count ancient *ordine retrogrado*, by a computation backwards from our ſelves. 8

* *Sr. Fran. Bacon Advance. of learn p.* 46.

Chap. 7.

The generall Artiſt.

I Know the generall cavill againſt generall learning is this, that *aliquis in omnibus eſt nullus in ſingulis*. He that ſips of many arts, drinks of none. However we muſt know, that all learning, which is but one grand Science, hath ſo homogeneall a body, that the parts thereof do with a mutuall ſervice relate to, and communicate ſtrength and luſtre each to other. Our Artiſt knowing language to be the key of learning, thus begins.

His tongue being but one by nature he gets cloven by art and induſtry. Before the confuſion of Babel, all the world was one continent in language; ſince divided into ſeverall *Maxime* 1

tongues, as ſeverall ilands. Grammer is the ſhip, by benefit whereof we paſſe from one to another, in the learned languages generally ſpoken in no countrey. His mother-tongue was like the dull muſick of a monochord, which by ſtudy he turns into the harmony of ſeverall inſtruments.

2 *He firſt gaineth skill in the Latine and Greek tongues.* On the credit of the former alone, he may trade in diſcourſe over all Chriſtendome: But the Greek, though not ſo generally ſpoken, is known with no leſſe profit, and more pleaſure. The joynts of her compounded words are ſo naturally oyled, that they run nimbly on the tongue; which makes them though long never tedious, becauſe ſignificant. Beſides, it is full and ſtately in ſound: onely it pities our Artiſt to ſee the vowels therein rackt in pronouncing them, hanging oftentimes one way by their native force, and haled another by their accents which countermand them.

3 *Hence he proceeds to the Hebrew, the mother-tongue of the world.* More pains then quickneſſe of wit is required to get it, and with daily exerciſe he continues it. Apoſtacy herein is uſuall to fall totally from the language by a little neglect. As for the Arabick, and other Orientall languages, he rather makes ſallies and incurſions into them, then any ſolemn ſitting before them.

4 *Then he applies his ſtudy to Logick, and Ethicks.* The latter makes a mans ſoul mannerly and wiſe; but as for Logick, that is the armory of reaſon, furniſht with all offenſive and defenſive weapons. There are Syllogiſmes, long ſwords; Enthymems, ſhort daggers; Dilemma's, two-edged ſwords that cut on both ſides; Soritеs, chain-ſhot: And for the defenſive, Diſtinctions, which are ſhields; Retortions, which are targets with a pike in the midſt of them, both to defend and oppoſe. From hence he raiſeth his ſtudies to the knowledge of Phyſicks, the great hall of Nature, and Metaphyſicks the cloſet thereof; and is carefull not to wade therein

therein ſo farre, till by ſubtill diſtinguiſhing of notions he confounds himſelf.

5 *He is skilfull in Rhetorick, which gives a ſpeech colour, as Logick doth favour, and both together beauty.* Though ſome condemne Rhetorick as the mother of lies, ſpeaking more then the truth in Hyperboles, leſſe in her Mioſis, otherwiſe in her metaphors, contrary in her ironies; yet is there excellent uſe of all theſe, when diſpoſed of with judgement. Nor is he a ſtranger to Poetry, which is muſick in words; nor to Muſick, which is poetry in ſound: both excellent ſauce, but they have liv'd and died poore, that made them their meat.

6 *Mathematicks he moderately ſtudieth to his great contentment.* Uſing it as ballaſt for his ſoul, yet to fix it not to ſtall it; nor ſuffers he it to be ſo unmannerly as to juſtle out other arts. As for judiciall Aſtrology (which hath the leaſt judgement in it) this vagrant hath been whipt out of all learned corporations. If our Artiſt lodgeth her in the out-rooms of his ſoul for a night or two, it is rather to heare then believe her relations.

7 *Hence he makes his progreſſe into the ſtudy of Hiſtory.* Neſtor, who lived three ages, was accounted the wiſeſt man in the world. But the Hiſtorian may make himſelf wiſe, by living as many ages as have paſt ſince the beginning of the world. His books enable him to maintain diſcourſe, who beſides the ſtock of his own experience may ſpend on the common purſe of his reading. This directs him in his life, ſo that he makes the ſhipwracks of others ſea-marks to himſelf; yea accidents which other ſtart from for their ſtrangeneſſe, he welcomes as his wonted acquaintance, having found preſidents for them formerly. Without Hiſtory a mans ſoul is purblind, ſeeing onely the things which almoſt touch his eyes.

8 *He is well ſeen in Chronology, without which Hiſtory is but an heap of tales.* If by the Laws of the land he is counted a Naturall, who hath not wit enough to tell twenty, or to tell his * age; he ſhall not paſſe with me for wiſe in learning,

**Fits Herbert de nat. brev. de Idiota inquiren.*

who cannot tell the age of the world, and count hundreds of years: I mean not ſo critically, as to ſolve all doubts ariſing thence; but that he may be able to give ſome tolerable account thereof. He is alſo acquainted with Coſmography, treating of the world in whole joynts; with Chorography, ſhredding it into countries; and with Topography, mincing it into particular places.

Thus taking theſe Sciences in their generall latitude, he hath finiſhed the round circle or golden ring of the arts; onely he keeps a place for the diamond to be ſet in, I mean for that predominant profeſsion of Law, Phyſick, Divinity, or State-policie, which he intends for his principall Calling hereafter.

Iulius Cæsar SCALIGER. *a great Restorer of Learninge. He died at Agen in France. Anº. Dñi. 1558. aged 75 yeares.* W.M. sculp:

Chap. 8.

The life of Julius Scaliger.

I Know my choice herein is liable to much exception. Some will make me the pattern of ignorance, for making this Scaliger the pattern of the generall Artist, whose own sonne Joseph might have been his father in many arts. But all things considered, the choice will appear well advised, even in such variety of examples. Yet let him know that undertakes to pick out the best ear amongst an acre of wheat, that he shall leave as good if not a better behind him, then that which he chooseth. He

He was born *Anno* 1484. in Italie, at the Caſtle of Ripa upon lacus Benacus, now called *Lago di Garda*, of the illuſtrious and noble family of the Scaligers, Princes, for many hundreds of years, of Verona, till at laſt the Venetians outed them of their ancient inheritance. Being about eleven years old, he was brought to the Court of Maximilian Emperour of Germany, where for ſeventeen years together he was taught learning, and military diſcipline. I paſſe by his valiant performances atchieved by him, ſave that this one action of his is ſo great and ſtrong, it cannot be kept in ſilence, but will be recorded.

In the cruel battel at Ravenna betwixt the Emperour and the French, he not onely bravely fetch'd off the dead bodies of Benedictus and Titus his father and brother, but alſo with his own hands reſcued the Eagle (the ſtandard Impériall) which was taken by the enemies. For which his proweſſe Maximilian knighted him, and with his own hands put on him the golden ſpurres, and chain, the badges of knight-hood.

Amidſt theſe his Martiall employments he made many a clandeſtine match with the Muſes, and whileſt he expected the tides and returns of buſineſſe, he fill'd up the empty places of leiſure with his ſtudies. Well did the Poets feigne Pallas Patroneſſe of arts and armes, there being ever good intelligence betwixt the two Profeſsions, and as it were but a narrow cut to ferry over out of one into the other. At laſt Scaliger ſounded a retreat to himſelf from the warres, and wholly applyed himſelf to his book, eſpecially after his wandring life was fixed by marriage unto the beautifull Andietta Lobeiaca, with whom he lived at Agin, near Montpeliar in France.

His Latine was twice refined, and moſt criticall, as appears by his own writings, and notes on other Authours. He was an accurate Grecian, yet began to ſtudy it, when well nigh fourty years old, when a mans tongue is too ſtiff to bow to words. What a torture was it to him who flowed with ſtreams of matter then to learn words, yea letters,

drop

drop by drop? But nothing was unconquerable to his pains, who had a golden wit in an iron body. Let his book of Subtilties witneſſe his profound skill in Logick, and Naturall Philoſophy.

His skill in Phyſick was as great, as his practice therein was happy; in ſo much that he did many ſtrange and admirable cures. Heare how a * noble and learned pen doth commend him:

* *Stephanus Boetius Regius Senator Burdigalæ ad Vidum Breſſa cum Præſidem.*

Non hunc fefellit ulla vis recondita
Salubris herbæ, ſaltibus ſi quam aviis
Celat nivoſus Caucaſus, ſeu quam procul
Riphæa duro contigit rupes gelu.
Hic jamq; ſpectantes ad orcum non ſemel
Animas repreſſit victor, & membris ſuis
Hærere ſuccis compulit felicibus,
Nigriq; avaras Ditis eluſit manus.

On ſnowy Caucaſus there grew no root
Of ſecret power, but he was privy to 't;
On cold Riphean hills no ſimple grew,
But he the force thereof and virtue knew.
Wherewith (apply'd by his ſucceſſefull art)
Such ſullen ſouls as would this world depart,
He forc't ſtill in their bodies to remain,
And from deaths doore fetch'd others back again.

As for his skill in Phyſiognomy, it was wonderfull. I know ſome will ſay, that cannot be read in mens faces which was never wrote there, and that he that ſeeks to find the diſpoſition of mens ſouls in the figures of their bodies, looks for letters on the backſide of the book. Yet is it credibly * averred that he never look'd on his infant-ſonne Audectus but with grief, as ſorrow-ſtruck with ſome ſad ſigne of ill ſucceſſe he ſaw in his face: which child at laſt was found ſtifled in bed with the embraces of his nurce being faſt aſleep.

* *In vita Jul. Scalig. p. 54.*

In

In Mathematicks he was no Archimedes, though he ſhewed his skill therein with the beſt advantage, and ſtood therein on his tiptoes, that his learning might ſeem the taller.

But in Poetry his over-meaſure of skill might make up this defect, as is atteſted by his book de *de Arte Poetica.* Yet his own Poems are harſh, and unſmooth, (as if he rather ſnorted then ſlept on Parnaſſus) and they ſound better to the brain then eare. Indeed his cenſure in Poetry was incomparable; but he was more happy in repairing of Poems then in building them from the ground, which ſpeaks his judgement to be better then his invention.

What ſhall I ſpeak of his skill in Hiſtory? whoſe own actions were a ſufficient Hiſtory. He was excellently verſ'd in the paſſages of the world, both modern and ancient. Many modern languages, which departed from Babel in a confuſion, met in his mouth in a method, being skilfull in the Sclavonick tongue, the Hungarian, Dutch, Italian, Spaniſh, and French.

But theſe his excellent parts were attended with prodigious pride; and he had much of the humour of the Ottomans in him, to kill all his brethren, and cry down all his equalls, which were corrivalls with him in the honour of arts, which was his principall quarrell with Cardan. Great was his ſpight at Eraſmus, the morning-ſtarre of learning, and one by whom Julius himſelf had profited, though afterwards he ſought to put out that candle whereat he had lighted his own. In the bickering betwixt them, Eraſmus pluckt Scaliger by the long locks of his immoderate boaſting, and touched him to the quick (a proud man lies pat for a jeering mans hand to hit) yea Eraſmus was a badger in his jeeres, where he did bite he would make his teeth meet. Nor came Scaliger behind him in railing. However afterward Scaliger repented of his bitterneſſe, and before his death was * reconciled unto him.

* *Thuan. obit. Illuſtr, Anno.* 1558.

Thus his learning, being in the circuit of arts, ſpread ſo wide, no wonder if it lay thinne in ſome places. His parts were nimble, that ſtarting ſo late he overtook, yea overran his

his equalls : ſo that we may ſafely conclude that making abatement for his military avocations, and late applying himſelf to ſtudy, ſcarce any one is to be preferred before him for generality of humane learning. He died *Anno* 1558. in the 75. yeare of his age.

Chap. 9.

The faithfull Miniſter.

WE ſuppoſe him not brought up by hand onely in his own countrey ſtudies, but that he hath ſuckt of his Mother Univerſity, and throughly learnt the arts : Not as S.* Rumball, who is ſaid to have ſpoken as ſoon as he was born, doth he preach as ſoon as he is Matriculated. Conceive him now a Graduate in arts, and entred into orders, according to the ſolemn form of the Church of England, and preſented by ſome Patrone to a paſtorall charge, or place equivalent, and then let us ſee how well he diſchargeth his office.

* *Camb. Brit. in Northamptoniſhire.*

He endeavours to get the generall love and good will of his pariſh. Maxime 1
This he doth not ſo much to make a benefit of them, as a benefit for them, that his miniſtry may be more effectuall; otherwiſe he may preach his own heart out, before he preacheth any thing into theirs. The good conceit of the Phyſician is half a cure, and his practice will ſcarce be happy where his perſon is hated; yet he humours them not in his Doctrine to get their love : for ſuch a ſpanniel is worſe then a dumbe dog. He ſhall ſooner get their good will by walking uprightly, then by crouching and creeping. If pious living and painfull labouring in his calling will not win their affections, he counts it gain to loſe them. As for thoſe which cauſeleſſely hate him, he pities and prayes for them : and ſuch there will be; I ſhould ſuſpect his preaching had no ſalt in it, if no gald horſe did winſe.

He is ſtrict in ordering his converſation. 2
As for thoſe who clenſe blurres with blotted fingers, they make it the worſe.

It was ſaid of one who preach'd very well, and liv'd very ill, *That when he was out of the Pulpit, it was pity he ſhould ever go into it, and when he was in the Pulpit, it was pity he ſhould ever come out of it*: But our Miniſter lives Sermons. And yet I deny not but diſſolute men, like unskilfull horſemen which open a gate on the wrong ſide, may by the virtue of their office open heaven for others, and ſhut themſelves out.

3 *His behaviour towards his people is grave and courteous.* Not too auſtere and retired; which is laid to the charge of good Mr* Hooper the martyr, that his rigidneſſe frighted people from conſulting with him. *Let your light* (ſaith Chriſt) *ſhine before men*; whereas over reſervedneſſe makes the brighteſt virtue burn dimme. Eſpecially he deteſteth affected gravity (which is rather on men then in them) whereby ſome belie their regiſter-book, antedate their age to ſeem farre older then they are, and plait and ſet their brows in an affected ſadneſſe. Whereas S* Anthony the Monk might have been known among hundreds of his order by his cheerfull face, he having ever (though a moſt mortified man) a merry countenance.

* *Fox, Acts and Mon. in his life.*

* *Athanaſius in ejus vita.*

4 *He doth not claſh Gods ordinances together about precedency.* Not making odious compariſons betwixt Prayer and Preaching, Preaching and Catechiſing, Publick prayer and Private, Premeditate prayer and *Ex tempore*. When at the taking of new Carthage in Spain two Souldiers contended about the Murall crown (due to him who firſt climbed the walls) ſo that the whole army was thereupon in danger of diviſion, * Scipio the Generall ſaid, He knew that they both got up the wall together, and ſo gave the Scaling crown to them both. Thus our Miniſter compounds all controverſies betwixt Gods ordinances, by prayſing them all, practiſing them all, and thanking God for them all. He counts the reading of Common-prayers to prepare him the better for preaching; and as one ſaid, if he did firſt toll the bell on one ſide, it made it afterwards ring out the better in his Sermons.

* *Plutarch in Scipio's life, pag.* 1807.

5 *He carefully Catechiſeth his people in the elements of religion.* Except

Except he hath (a rare thing) a flock without lambs, of all old ſheep; and yet even Luther did not ſcorn to profeſſe himſelf *Diſcipulum Catechiſmi*, a ſcholar of the Catechiſme. By this Catechiſing the Goſpel firſt got ground of Popery: and let not our Religion now grown rich be aſhamed of that which firſt gave it credit and ſet it up, leſt the Jeſuites beat us at our own weapon. Through the want of this Catechiſing many which are well skilled in ſome dark out-corners of Divinity have loſt themſelves in the beaten road thereof.

6 *He will not offer to God of that which coſts him nothing*; but takes pains aforehand for his Sermons. * Demoſthenes never made any oration on the ſudden; yea being called upon he never roſe up to ſpeak, except he had well ſtudied the matter: and he was wont to ſay, *That he ſhewed how he honoured and reverenced the people of Athens becauſe he was carefull what he ſpake unto them.* Indeed if our Miniſter be ſurpriſed with a ſudden occaſion, he counts himſelf rather to be excuſed then commended, if premeditating onely the bones of his Sermon he clothes it with fleſh *ex tempore.* As for thoſe, whoſe long cuſtome hath made preaching their nature, that they can diſcourſe Sermons without ſtudy, he accounts their examples rather to be admired then imitated.

* *Plutarch in the life of Demoſth.*

7 *Having brought his Sermon into his head, he labours to bring it into his heart, before he preaches it to his people.* Surely that preaching which comes from the ſoul moſt works on the ſoul. Some have queſtioned ventriloquie, when men ſtrangely ſpeak out of their bellies, whether it can be done lawfully or no: might I coin the word *cordiloquie*, when men draw the doctrines out of their hearts, ſure all would count this lawfull and commendable.

8 *He chiefly reproves the raigning ſins of the time, and place he lives in.* We may obſerve that our Saviour never inveighed againſt Idolatry, Uſury, Sabbath-breaking amongſt the Jews; not that theſe were not ſins, but they were not practiſed ſo much in that age, wherein wickedneſſe was ſpun with a finer thred: and therefore Chriſt principally bent the drift of his

preaching againſt ſpirituall Pride, Hypocriſie, and Traditions then predominant amongſt the people. Alſo our Miniſter confuteth no old Hereſies which time hath confuted; nor troubles his Auditory with ſuch ſtrange, hideous caſes of Conſcience, that it is more hard to find the caſe then the reſolution. In publick reproving of ſinne, he ever whips the vice and ſpares the perſon.

9 *He doth not onely move the bread of life, and toſſe it up and down in generalities, but alſo breaks it into particular directions*: drawing it down to caſes of Conſcience, that a man may be warranted in his particular actions, whether they be lawfull or not. And he teacheth people their lawfull liberty as well as their reſtraints and prohibitions; for amongſt men it is as ill taken to turn back favours, as to diſobey commands.

10 *The places of Scripture he quotes are pregnant and pertinent.* As for heaping up of many quotations, it ſmacks of a vain oſtentation of memory. Beſides, it is as impoſsible that the hearer ſhould profitably retain them all, as that the preacher hath ſeriouſly peruſed them all; yea, whileſt the auditours ſtop their attention, and ſtoop down to gather an impertinent quotation, the Sermon runs on, and they loſe more ſubſtantiall matter.

11 *His ſimiles and illuſtrations are alwayes familiar, never contemptible.* Indeed reaſons are the pillars of the fabrick of a Sermon, but ſimilitudes are the windows which give the beſt lights He avoids ſuch ſtories whoſe mention may ſuggeſt bad thoughts to the auditours, and will not uſe a light compariſon to make thereof a grave application, for fear leſt his poyſon go farther then his antidote.

12 *He provideth not onely wholſome but plentifull food for his people.* Almoſt incredible was the painfulneſſe of Baronius, the compiler of the voluminous Annals of the Church, who for thirty years together preached * three or foure times aweek to the people. As for our Miniſter, he preferreth rather to entertain his people with wholſome cold meat which was on the table before, then with that which is hot from

* *The words being ſome what ambiguous are thus,* In audiendis confeſſionibus, & ſermonibus ad populum ter in hebdomada quaté ve habendis per triginta & ampliùs annos diligentiſſimâ aſſiduitate laboravit, *Spondanus in vita Baronii, pag. 2 part. 7.*

the

the ſpit, raw and half roaſted. Yet in repetition of the ſame Sermon, every edition hath a new addition, if not of new matter of new affections. *Of whom*, ſaith S. Paul, *we have told you often, and now we tell you weeping.*

He makes not that wearisome, which ſhould ever be welcome. 13
Wherefore his Sermons are of an ordinary length except on an extraordinary occaſion. What a gift had John * Halſebach, Profeſſour at Vienna, in tedioufneſſe? who being to expound the Prophet Eſay to his auditours read twenty one years on the firſt Chapter, and yet finiſhed it not.

* *Mercator Atlas in the deſcrip. of Auſtria.*

He counts the ſucceſſe of his Miniſtry the greateſt preferment. 14
Yet herein God hath humbled many painfull paſtours, in making them to be clouds to rain, not over Arabia the happy, but over the ſtonie or deſert: ſo that they may complain with the Herdſman in the Poet,

Heu mihi, quàm pingui macer eſt mihi taurus in arvo?
My ſtarveling bull,
Ah woe is me,
In paſture full,
How lean is he?

Yet ſuch Paſtours may comfort themſelves that great is their reward with God in heaven, who meaſures it not by their ſucceſſe but endeavours. Beſides, though they ſee not, their people may feel benefit by their Miniſtry. Yea the preaching of the Word in ſome places is like the planting of woods, where though no profit is received for twenty years together, it comes afterwards. And grant, that God honours thee not to build his temple in thy pariſh, yet thou maiſt with David provide metall and materialls for Solomon thy ſucceſſour to build it with.

To ſick folks he comes ſometimes before he is ſent for, as counting 15
his vocation a ſufficient calling. None of his flock ſhall want the extreme unction of Prayer and Counſell. Againſt the Communion eſpecially he endeavours that Janus his temple be ſhut in the whole pariſh, and that all be made friends.

He is never plaintiff in any ſuit but to be rights defendant. If his 16

dues be detained from him, he grieves more for his parishioners bad conscience then his own damage. He had rather suffer ten times in his profit, then once in his title, where not onely his person, but posterity is wronged: And then he proceeds fairly and speedily to a tryall, that he may not vex and weary others, but right himself. During his suit he neither breaks off nor slacks offices of courtesie to his adversary; yea though he loseth his suit, he will not also lose his charity. Chiefly he is respectfull to his Patrone, that as he presented him freely to his living, so he constantly presents his Patrone in his prayers to God.

17 *He is moderate in his tenets and opinions.* Not that he gilds over lukewarmnesse in matters of moment with the title of discretion, but withall he is carefull not to entitle violence in indifferent and in concerning matters to be zeal. Indeed men of extraordinary tallnesse, (though otherwise little deserving) are made porters to lords, and those of unusuall littlenesse are made ladies dwarfs, whilest men of moderate stature may want masters. Thus many notorious for extremities may find favourers to preferre them, whilest moderate men in the middle truth may want any to advance them. But what saith the Apostle? *If in this life onely we had hope we are of all men the most miserable.*

18 *He is sociable and willing to do any courtesie for his neighbour Ministers.* He willingly communicates his knowledge unto them. Surely the gifts and graces of Christians lay in common, till base envy made the first enclosure. He neither slighteth his inferiours; nor repineth at those who in parts and credit are above him. He loveth the company of his neighbour Ministers. Sure as ambergreece is nothing so sweet in it self, as when it is compounded with other things; so both godly and learned men are gainers by communicating themselves to their neighbours.

19 *He is carefull in the discreet ordering of his own family.* A good Minister and a good father may well agree together. When a certain Frenchman came to visit * Melanchthon, he found him in his stove with one hand dandling his child in the swadling-

*Pantaleon de Illustr. Germ. in vita Melanch.

swadling-clouts, and in the other hand holding a book and reading it. Our Minister also is as hospitable as his estate will permit, and makes every almes two by his cheerfull giving it. He loveth also to live in a well-repaired house, that he may serve God therein more cheerfully. A Clergieman who built his house from the ground wrote in it this counsell to his successour,

If thou dost find an house built to thy mind
Without thy cost,
Serve thou the more God and the poore;
My labour is not lost.

Lying on his deathbed he bequeaths to each of his parishioners his precepts and example for a legacie: and they in requitall erect every one a monument for him in their hearts. He is so farre from that base jealousie that his memory should be outshined by a brighter successour, and from that wicked desire that his people may find his worth by the worthlessnesse of him that succeeds, that he doth heartily pray to God to provide them a better Pastour after his decease. As for outward estate, he commonly lives in too bare pasture to die fat: It is well if he hath gathered any flesh, being more in blessing then bulk.

WILLIAM PERKINS *The Learned, pious, and painfull Preacher of Gods word, at S^t Andrewes in* Cambridge *where He died Anno Dñi. 1602. Aged 44 yeares.*
W.M. *sculp:*

CHAP. 10.

The life of M^r PERKINS.

WIlliam Perkins, born at Marſton nigh Coventry in Warwickſhire, was afterwards brought up in Chriſt-Colledge in Cambridge, where he ſo well profited in his ſtudies that he got the grounds of all liberall Arts, and in the 24 of Queen Elizabeth was choſen fellow of that Colledge, the ſame yeare wherein Doctour Andrew Willet (one of admirable induſtry) and Doctour Richard Clark (whoſe learned Sermons commend him to poſterity) were elected into the ſame Society. There

There goeth an uncontroll'd tradition, that Perkins, when a young ſcholar, was a great ſtudier of Magick, occaſioned perchance by his skill in Mathematicks. For ignorant people count all circles above their own ſphere to be conjuring, and preſently cry out thoſe things are done by black art for which their dimme eyes can ſee no colour in reaſon. And in ſuch caſe, when they cannot flie up to heaven to make it a Miracle, they fetch it from hell to make it Magick, though it may lawfully be done by naturall cauſes. True it is he was very wild in his youth till God (the beſt Chymick who can fix quickſilver it ſelf) gratiouſly reclaim'd him.

After his entrance into the Miniſtry, the firſt beam he ſent forth ſhined to thoſe *which ſat in darkneſſe and the ſhadow of death*, I mean the priſoners in the caſtle of Cambridge, people (as generally in ſuch places) living in England out of Chriſtendome, wanting the means of their ſalvation, bound in their bodies, but too looſe in their lives, yea often branded in their fleſh, and ſeared in their conſciences. Perkins prevailed ſo farre with their jaylour, that the priſoners were brought (fetter'd) to the Shire-houſe hard by, where he preached unto them every Lords day. Thus was the priſon his pariſh, his own Charity his Patron preſenting him unto it, and his work was all his wages. Many an Oneſimus here he begat, and as the inſtrument freed the priſoners from the captivity of ſinne. When this began to be known, ſome of good quality of the neighbouring pariſhes became his auditours, and counted it their feaſt to feed out of the priſoners basket. Hence afterwards he became Preacher of S. Andrews pariſh in Cambridge, where he continued to the day of his death.

His Sermons were not ſo plain but that the piouſly learned did admire them, nor ſo learned but that the plain did underſtand them. What was ſaid of Socrates, That he firſt humbled the towring ſpeculations of Philoſophers into practice and morality; ſo our Perkins brought the ſchools into the Pulpit, and unſhelling their controverſies out of their

their hard ſchool-terms, made thereof plain and wholſome meat for his people. For he had a capacious head with angles winding, and roomthy enough to lodge all controverſiall intricaſies; and, had not preaching diverted him from that way, he had no doubt attained to eminency therein. An excellent Chirurgeon he was at joynting of a broken ſoul, and at ſtating of a doubtfull conſcience. And ſure in Caſe-divinity Proteſtants are defective. For (ſave that a Smith or two of late have built them forges, and ſet up ſhop) we go down to our enemies to ſharpen all our inſtruments, and are beholden to them for offenſive and defenſive weapons in Caſes of Conſcience.

He would pronounce the word *Damne* with ſuch an emphaſis as left a dolefull Echo in his auditours ears a good while after. And when Catechiſt of Chriſt Colledge, in expounding the Commandments, applied them ſo home, able almoſt to make his hearers hearts fall down, and hairs to ſtand upright. But in his older age he altered his voice, and remitted much of his former rigidneſſe, often profeſsing that to preach mercie was that proper office of the Miniſters of the Goſpell.

S. W. Mr. of S. C. C.

Some object that his Doctrine, referring all to an abſolute decree, hamſtrings all induſtry, and cuts off the ſinews of mens endeavours towards ſalvation. For aſcribing all to the wind of Gods ſpirit, (which bloweth where it liſteth) he leaveth nothing to the oars of mans diligence, either to help or hinder to the attaining of happineſſe, but rather opens a wide doore to licentious ſecurity. Were this the hardeſt objection againſt Perkins his doctrine, his own life was a ſufficient anſwer thereunto, ſo pious, ſo ſpotleſſe, that Malice was afraid to bite at his credit, into which ſhe knew her teeth could not enter.

He had a rare felicity in ſpeedy reading of books, and as it were but turning them over would give an exact account of all conſiderables therein. So that as it were riding poſt thorow an Authour, he took ſtrict notice of all paſſages, as if he had dwelt on them particularly; peruſing books ſo ſpeedily,

ſpeedily, one would think he read nothing; ſo accurately, one would think he read all.

He was of a cheerfull nature and pleaſant diſpoſition: Indeed to mere ſtrangers he was reſerved and cloſe, ſuffering them to knock a good while before he would open himſelf unto them; but on the leaſt acquaintance he was merry and very familiar.

Beſides his aſsiduity in preaching he wrote many books, extant at this day. And pity it was, that he ſet not forth more of them himſelf; for though ſome of his Orphan works lighted on good Guardians, yet all were not ſo happy; and indeed no nurſe for a child to the own mother.

He dyed in the 44. yeare of his age of a violent fit of the ſtone. It hath been reported that he dyed in the conflict of a troubled conſcience; which admit were ſo, had been no wonder. For God ſometimes ſeemingly leaves his Saints when they leave the world, plunging them on their death-beds in deep temptations, and caſting their ſouls down to hell, to rebound the higher to heaven. Beſides, the devil is moſt buſie on the laſt day of his Term; and a Tenant to be outed cares not what miſchief he doth. But here was no ſuch matter. Indeed he alwayes cryed out *Mercy Mercy*: which ſome ſtanders by misinterpreted for deſpair, as if he felt not Gods favour, becauſe he call'd for it: whereas Mercy is a Grace which they hold the faſteſt, that moſt catch after it. 'Tis true that many on leſſe reaſon have expreſſed more confidence of their future happineſſe, and have delivered themſelves in larger ſpeeches concerning the ſame. But who could expect a long oration from him, where every word was accented with pain in ſo ſharp a diſeaſe.

His funeralls were ſolemnly and ſumptuouſly perform'd of the ſole charges of Chriſt-Colledge, which challenged, as ſhe gave him his breeding, to pay for his buriall; the Univerſity and Town lovingly contending which ſhould expreſſe more ſorrow thereat. Doctour Mountague, afterwards Biſhop of Wincheſter, preached his Funerall-Sermon, and excellently diſcharg'd the place, taking for his Text, *Moſes my ſervant is dead.* He

S.W. *ut priùs.*

He was of a ruddy complexion, very fat and corpulent, lame of his right hand; and yet this Ehud with a lefthanded pen did ſtab the Romiſh Cauſe, and * as one ſaith,

* *Hugh Holland in his Icones.*

Dextera quantumvis fuerat tibi manca, docendi
Pollebas mira dexteritate tamen.

Though nature thee of thy right hand bereft,
Rightwell thou writeſt with thy hand that's left.

He was born the firſt, and dyed the laſt yeare of Queen Eliſabeth, ſo that his life ſtreamed in equall length with her reigne, and they both had their fountains, and falls together.

I muſt not forget, how his books after his death were tranſlated into moſt modern Chriſtian languages. For though he excellently improved his talent in the Engliſh tongue, yet forreiners thought it but wrapt up in a napkin, whileſt folded in an unknown language. Wherefore ſome tranſlated the main body of his works into French, Dutch, and Italian; and his books ſpeak more tongues, then the Maker ever underſtood. His *Reformed Catholick* was done into Spaniſh, and no Spaniard ever ſince durſt take up that gantlet of defiance our Champion caſt down: yea their Inquiſition rather choſe to anſwer it with tortures, then arguments.

Chap. II.

The good Pariſhioner.

WE will onely deſcribe his Church-reference; his Civill part hath and ſhall be met with under other Heads. Conceive him to live under ſuch a faithfull Miniſter as before was character'd, as, either judging charitably that all Paſtours are ſuch, or wiſhing heartily that they were.

Maxime 1 *Though near to the Church he is not farre from God.* Like unto Juſtus, Acts 18. 8. *One that worſhipped God, and his houſe joyncd hard to the Synagogue.* Otherwiſe if his diſtance from the church be great, his diligence is the greater to come thither in ſeaſon.

He

He is timely at the beginning of Common prayer. Yet as * Tullie Charged ſome diſſolute people for being ſuch ſluggards that they never ſaw the ſunne riſing or ſetting, as being alwayes up after the one, and abed before the other; ſo ſome negligent people never heare prayers begun, or ſermon ended: the Confeſsion being paſt before they come, and the Bleſsing not come before they are paſſed away. 2

* *De finibus boni & mali, lib.* 2.

In ſermon he ſets himſelf to heare God in the Miniſter. Therefore diveſteth he himſelf of all prejudice; the jaundiſe in the eyes of the ſoul preſenting colours falſe unto it. He hearkens very attentively: 'Tis a ſhame when the Church it ſelf is *Cœmeterium*, wherein the living ſleep above ground as the dead do beneath. 3

At every Point that concerns himſelf, he turns down a leaf in his heart; and rejoyceth that Gods word hath peirc'd him, as hoping that whileſt his ſoul ſmarts it heals. And as it is no manners for him that hath good veniſon before him, to ask whence it came, but rather fairly to fall to it; ſo hearing an excellent Sermon, he never enquires whence the Preacher had it, or whether it was not before in print, but falls aboard to practiſe it. 4

He accuſeth not his Miniſter of ſpight for particularizing him. It does not follow that the archer aimed, becauſe the arrow hit. Rather our Pariſhioner reaſoneth thus; If my ſinne be notorious, how could the Miniſter miſſe it? if ſecret, how could he hit it without Gods direction? But fooliſh hearers make even the bells of Aarons garments *to clink as they think*. And a guilty conſcience is like a whirpool, drawing in all to it ſelf which otherwiſe would paſſe by. One, cauſeleſſely diſaffected to his Miniſter, complained that he in his laſt Sermon had perſonally inveighed againſt him, and accuſed him thereof to a grave religious Gentleman in the pariſh: *Truly*, ſaid the Gentleman, *I had thought in his Sermon he had meant me, for it touched my heart.* This rebated the edge of the others anger. 5

His Tithes he payes willingly with cheerfulneſſe. How many part with Gods portions grudgingly, or elſe pinch it in the 6

paying.* *Decimum,* the Tenth, amongſt the Romanes was ever taken for what was beſt or biggeſt. It falls out otherwiſe in paying of Tithes, where the leaſt and leaneſt are ſhifted off to make that number.

* *Fluctus Decimus,* pro *maximo.* Ovidio & Lucano.

7 *He hides not himſelf from any Pariſh-office which ſeeks for him.* If choſen Churchwarden, he is not buſily-idle, rather to trouble then reform, preſenting all things but thoſe which he ſhould. If Overſeer of the poore, he is carefull the rates be made indifferent (whoſe inequality oftentimes is more burthenſome then the ſumme) and well diſpoſed of. He meaſures not peoples wants by their clamorous complaining, and diſpenſeth more to thoſe that deſerve then to them that onely need relief.

8 *He is bountifull in contributing to the repair of Gods houſe.* For though he be not of their opinion, who would have the Churches under the Goſpell conform'd to the magnificence of Solomons Temple (whoſe porch would ſerve us for a Church) and adorn them ſo gaudily, that devotion is more diſtracted then raiſed, and mens ſouls rather dazeled, then lightened; yet he conceives it fitting that ſuch ſacred places ſhould be handſomly and decently maintained: The rather becauſe the climacterical yeare of many Churches from their firſt foundation, may ſeem to happen in our dayes; ſo old, that their ruine is threatned if not ſpeedily repaired.

9 *He is reſpectfull to his Miniſters widow and poſterity for his ſake.* When the onely daughter of Peter Martyr was, through the riot and prodigality of her debauched husband, brought to extreme poverty, the * State of Zurick, out of gratefull remembrance of her Father, ſupported her with bountifull maintenance. My prayers ſhall be, that Miniſters widows, and children may never ſtand in need of ſuch relief, and may never want ſuch relief when they ſtand in need.

* *Thuan obit. vir. doct. Anno.* 1562.

CHAP. 12.

The good Patron.

THat in the Primitive times (though I dare not ſay generally in all Churches) if not the ſole choyce, at leaſt the conſent of the people was required in appointing of Miniſters, may partly appear out of * Scripture, more plainly out of * Cyprian, and is confeſſed by reverend * Dr. Whitgift. Theſe popular elections were well diſcharged in thoſe purer times, when men being ſcoured with conſtant perſecution had little leaſure to ruſt with factions, and when there were no baits for Corruption; the places of Miniſters being then of great pains and perill, and ſmall profit. But diſſenſion creeping in, in after-ages (the eyes of common people at the beſt but dimme through ignorance being wholly blinded with partiality) it may ſeem their right of election was either devolved to, or aſſumed of the Biſhop of the Dioces, who * onely was to appoint Curates in every pariſh. Afterwards to invite lay-men to build and endow Churches, the Biſhops departed with their right to the lay Patrons according to the verſe,

Patronum faciunt Dos, Aedificatio, Fundus.

A Patron's he that did endow with lands,
Or built the Church, or on whoſe ground it ſtands.

It being conceived reaſonable that he who payed the Churches portion, ſhould have the main ſtroke in providing her an husband. Then came Patronages to be annexed to Mannours, and by ſale or deſcent to paſſe along with them; nor could any juſtly complain thereof, if all Patrons were like him we deſcribe.

He counts the Living his to diſpoſe, not to make profit of. He fears more to lapſe his conſcience, then his Living; fears more the committing then the diſcovery of Simony.

A Benefice he ſometimes giveth ſpeedily, never raſhly. Some are long in beſtowing them out of ſtate, becauſe they love to have many ſuiters; others out of covetouſneſſe will not

Acts 14. 23. χειροτονήσαντες.
* *Lib. 1. epiſt. 4*
* *Defence of the Anſwer to the Admonition. pag. 164.*

* *Concil. Toletan. Anno 589. Can. 9. Synod. Antiochen. Can. 24. and 2 Concil. Gangrenſe Can. 7. and 8.*

Maxime 1

2

open their wares till all their chapmen are come together, pretending to take the more deliberation.

3 *He is deaf to opportunity, if wanting desert.* Yet is he not of the mind of Tamberlane the Scythian King, who never gave Office to any that sought for it: for desiring proceeds not alwayes from want of deserving; yea God himself likes well that his favours should be sued for. Our Patron chiefly respects piety, sufficiency, and promise of painfulnesse, whereby he makes his election. If he can by the same deed provide for Gods house and his own familie, he counts it lawfull, but on no terms will preferre his deerest and neerest sonne or kinsman if unworthy.

4 *He hates not onely direct simony, or rather Gehazisme, by the string, but also that which goes about by the bow.* Ancient Councels present us with severall forms hereof. I find how the Patrons sonnes and nephews were wont to feed upon the Incumbent, and eat out the presentation in great banquets and dinners, till at last the Palentine Councel brought a voyder to such feasts, and made a canon against them. But the former ages were bunglers to the cunning contrivance of the simony-engineers of our times. *O my soul come thou not into their secrets.* As if they cared not to go to hell, so be it were not the neerest way, but that they might fetch a farre compasse round about. And yet father * Campian must not carry it so clearly, who taxeth the Protestants for maintaining of simony. We confesse it a personall vice amongst us, but not to be charged as a Church-sinne, which by penall Laws it doth both prohibit and punish. Did Rome herein look upon the dust behind her own doores, she would have but little cause to call her neighbour slut. What saith the Epigram?

Concil. Palent. Anno 1322. Constit. 14.

* *Vid. Videl. Comment. in Epist. Ignatii ad Trallenses.*

An Petrus fuerat Romæ, sub judice lis est;
Simonem Romæ nemo fuisse negat.
That Peter was at Rome, there's strife about it;
That Simon was there, none did ever doubt it.

5 *He hates corruption not onely in himself, but his servants.* Otherwise it will do no good for the Master to throw bribes away,

away, if the Men catch them up at the firſt rebound, yea before ever they come to the ground. * Cambden can tell you what Lord-Keeper it was in the dayes of Queen Elizabeth, who though himſelf an upright man was hardly ſpoken of for the baſeneſſe of his ſervants in the ſale of Eccleſiaſticall preferments.

* *In the life of Queen Elizab. Anno Dom.* 1596.

When he hath freely beſtowed a Living, he makes no boaſts of it. To do this were a kind of ſpirituall ſimony, to ask and receive applauſe of others; as if the commonneſſe of faulting herein made a right, and the rarity of giving things freely merited *ex condigno* a generall commendation. He expects nothing from the Clerk he preſented but his prayers to God for him, reſpectfull carriage towards him, and painfulneſſe in his Calling, who having gotten his place freely may diſcharge it the more faithfully: whereas thoſe will ſcarce afford to feed their ſheep fat, who rent the paſture at too high a rate. 6

To conclude, let Patrons imitate this particular example of King William Rufus, who (though ſacrilegious in other acts) herein diſcharged a good conſcience. Two Monks came to him to buy an Abbots place of him, ſeeking to outvie each other in offering great ſummes of money, whileſt a third Monk ſtood by, and ſaid nothing. To whom ſaid the King, What wilt thou give for the place. Not a penny, anſwered he, for it is againſt my conſcience; but here I ſtay to wait home on him whom your Royall pleaſure ſhall deſigne Abbot. Then quoth the King, Thou of the three beſt deſerveſt the place, and ſhalt have it, and ſo beſtowed it on him.

Chap. 13.

The good Landlord.

IS one that lets his land on a reaſonable rate, ſo that the Tenant by employing his ſtock, and uſing his induſtry, may make an honeſt livelihood thereby, to maintain himſelf and his children.

Maxime 1 *His rent doth quicken his Tenant but not gall him.* Indeed 'tis obſerved, that where Landlords are very eaſy, the Tenants (but this is *per accidens*, out of their own lazineſſe) ſeldome thrive, contenting themſelves to make up the juſt meaſure of their rent, and not labouring for any ſurpluſage of eſtate. But our Landlord puts ſome metall into his Tenants induſtry, yet not granting him too much, leſt the Tenant revenge the Landlords cruelty to him upon his land.

2 *Yet he raiſeth his rents (or fines equivalent) in ſome proportion to the preſent price of other commodities.* The plenty of money makes a ſeeming ſcarcity of all other things, and wares of all ſorts do daily grow dear. If therefore our Landlord ſhould let his rents ſtand ſtill as his Grandfather left them, whileſt other wares dayly go on in price, he muſt needs be caſt farre behind in his eſtate.

3 *What he ſells or ſets to his Tenant, he ſuffers him quietly to enjoy according to his covenants.* This is a great joy to a Tenant, though he buyes dear to poſſeſſe without diſturbance. A ſtrange example there was of Gods puniſhing a covetous Landlord at * Rye in Suſſex, *Anno* 1570. He having a certain mariſh, wherein men on poles did dry their fiſhnets, received yearly of them a ſufficient ſumme of money, till not content therewith he cauſed his ſervant to pluck up the poles, not ſuffering the fiſhermen to uſe them any longer, except they would compound at a greater rate. But it came to paſſe the ſame night that the ſea breaking in covered the ſame mariſh with water, and ſo it ſtill continueth.

* *Holinſhed p.* 1224.

4 *He deteſts and abhorres all incloſure with depopulation.* And becauſe this may ſeem a matter of importance, we will break it into ſeverall propoſitions.

1 *Incloſure may be made without depopulating.* Infinites of examples ſhew this to be true. But depopulation hath caſt a ſlander on incloſure, which becauſe often done with it, people ſuſpect it cannot be done without it.

2 *Incloſure made without depopulating is injurious to none.* I mean if proportionable allotments be made to the poore for their commonage, and free and leaſeholders

ders have a conſiderable ſhare with the lord of the mannour.

3 *Incloſure without depopulating is beneficiall to private perſons.* Then have they moſt power and comfort to improve their own parts, and for the time, and manner thereof may mould it to their own conveniencie. The Monarch of one acre will make more profit thereof then he that hath his ſhare in fourty in common.

4 *Incloſure without depopulating is profitable to the Common-wealth.* If injurious to no private perſon, and profitable to them all, it muſt needs be beneficiall to the Common-wealth, which is but the *Summa totalis* of ſundry perſons, as ſeverall figures. Beſides, if a Mathematician ſhould count the wood in the hedges, to what a mighty forreſt would it amount? This underwood ſerves for ſupplies to ſave timber from burning, otherwiſe our wooden walls in the water muſt have been ſent to the fire. Adde to this the ſtrength of an incloſed Countrey againſt a forrein invaſion. Hedges and counterhedges (having in number what they want in height and depth) ſerve for barracadoes, and will ſtick as birdlime in the wings of the horſe, and ſcotch the wheeling about of the foot. Small reſiſtance will make the enemy to earn every mile of ground as he marches. Object not, That incloſure deſtroyes tillage, the ſtaff of a countrey, for it need not all be converted to paſturage. Cain and Abel may very well agree in the Common-wealth, the Plowman and Shepherd part the incloſures betwixt them.

5 *Incloſure with depopulation is a canker to the Common-wealth.* It needs no proof: wofull experience ſhews how it unhouſes thouſands of people, till deſperate need thruſts them on the gallows. Long ſince had this land been ſick of a pluriſie of people, if not let blood in their Weſtern Plantations.

6 *Incloſure with depopulation endammageth the parties themſelves.* 'Tis a paradox and yet a truth, that reaſon ſhews

ſuch incloſures to be gainfull, and experience proves them to be loſſe to the makers. It may be, becauſe God being φιλάνθρωπος, a Lover of man, mankind, and mens ſociety, and having ſaid to them, *Multiply and increaſe*, counts it an affront unto him, that men depopulate, and whereas bees daily ſwarm, men make the hives fewer. The margin ſhall direct you to the * Authour that counts eleven mannours in Northhamptonſhire thus incloſed: which towns have vomited out (to uſe his own expreſsion) and unburthened themſelves of their former deſolating and depopulating owners, and I think of their poſterity.

* *Mr Benthams Chriſtian Conflict, pag.* 322.

5 *He rejoyceth to ſee his Tenants thrive.* Yea he counts it a great honour to himſelf, when he perceiveth that God bleſſeth their endeavours, and that they come forward in the world. I cloſe up all with this pleaſant ſtory. A Farmer rented a Grange generally reported to be haunted by Faries, and paid a ſhrewd rent for the ſame at each half years end. Now a Gentleman asked him how he durſt be ſo hardy as to live in the houſe, and whether no Spirits did trouble him. *Truth* (ſaid the Farmer) *there be two Saints in heaven vex me more then all the devils in hell, namely the Virgin Mary, and Michael the Archangel*; on which dayes he paid his rent.

Chap. 14.

The good Maſter of a Colledge.

THe Jews *Anno* 1348. were baniſhed out of moſt countreys of Chriſtendome, principally for poyſoning of ſprings and * fountains. Grievous therefore is their offenſe, who infect Colledges, the fountains of learning and religion; and it concerneth the Church and State, that the Heads of ſuch houſes be rightly qualified, ſuch men as we come to character.

* *Munſter de German. lib.* 3. *pag.* 457.

Maxime 1 *His learning if beneath eminency is farre above contempt.* Sometimes

times ordinary ſcholars make extraordinary good Maſters. Every one who can play well on Apollo's harp cannot skilfully drive his chariot, there being a peculiar myſtery of Government. Yea as a little allay makes gold to work the better, ſo (perchance) ſome dulneſſe in a man makes him fitter to manage ſecular affairs; and thoſe who have climbed up Parnaſſus but half way better behold worldly buſineſſe (as lying low and nearer to their ſight) then ſuch as have climbed up to the top of the mount.

2 *He not onely keeps the Statutes (in his ſtudy) but obſerves them:* for the maintaining of them will maintain him, if he be queſtioned. He gives them their true dimenſions, not racking them for one, and ſhrinking them for another, but making his conſcience his daily Viſitour. He that breaks the Statutes, and thinks to rule better by his own diſcretion, makes many gaps in the hedge, and then ſtands to ſtop one of them with a ſtake in his hand. Beſides, thus to confound the will of the dead Founders, is the ready way to make living mens charitie (like Sr Hugh Willoughby in diſcovering the Northern paſſage) to be frozen to death, and will diſhearten all future Benefactours.

3 *He is principall Porter, and chief Chappell-monitour.* For where the Maſter keeps his chamber alwayes, the ſcholars will keep theirs ſeldome, yea perchance may make all the walls of the Colledge to be gate. He ſeeks to avoid the inconvenience when the gates do rather divide then confine the ſcholars, when the Colledge is diſtinguiſhed (as France into *Cis & Tranſalpina*) into the part on this, and on the otherſide of the walls. As for out-lodgings (like galleries, neceſſary evils in populous Churches) he rather tolerates then approves them.

4 *In his Elections he reſpecteth merit, not onely as the condition but as the cauſe thereof.* Not like Leofricus Abbot of S. Albans, who would ſcarce admit any into his Covent though well deſerving, except he was a * Gentleman born. He more reſpects literature in a ſcholar, then great mens letters for him. A learned Maſter of a Colledge in Cambridge (ſince made

*Matth. Pariſ. in 23. Abbat. S. Alban. pag. 42.

a

a reverend Biſhop, and, to the great grief of good men and great loſſe of Gods Church, lately deceaſed) refuſed a Mandate for chooſing of a worthleſſe man fellow. And when it was expected, that at the leaſt he ſhould have been outed of his Maſterſhip for this his contempt, King James highly commended him, and encouraged him ever after to follow his own conſcience, when the like occaſion ſhould be given him.

5 *He winds up the* Tenants *to make good muſick, but not to break them.* Sure Colledge-lands were never given to fat the Tenants and ſterve the ſcholars, but that both might comfortably ſubſiſt. Yea generally I heare the Muſes commended for the beſt Landladies, and a Colledge-leaſe is accounted but as the worſt kind of freehold.

6 *He is obſervant to do all due right to Benefactours.* If not piety, policy would dictate this unto him. And though he reſpects not Benefactours kinſmen, when at their firſt admiſsion they count themſelves born heirs apparent to all preferment which the houſe can heap on them, and therefore grow lazy and idle; yet he counts their alliance, ſeconded with mediocrity of deſert, a ſtrong title to Colledge-advancement.

7 *He counts it lawfull to enrich himſelf, but in ſubordination to the Colledge good.* Not like Varus, Governour of Syria, who came poore into the countrey, and found it rich, but departed thence rich, and left the countrey poore. Methinks 'tis an excellent commendation which Trinity Colledge in Cambridge in her records beſtows on Doctour Still once Maſter thereof. *Se ferebat Patremfamilias providum,* ἀγαθὸν κτηνοτρόφον, *nec Collegio gravis fuit aut oneroſus.*

8 *He diſdains to nouriſh diſſenſion amongſt the members of his houſe.* Let Machiavills Maxime, *Divide & regnabis,* if offering to enter into a Colledge-gate, ſink thorow the grate, and fall down with the durt. For beſides that the fomenting of ſuch diſcords agrees not with a good conſcience, each party will watch advantages, and Pupils will often be made to ſuffer for their Tutours quarrells: *Studium partium* will be *magna pars ſtudiorum,* & the Colledge have more rents then revenues.

He

He ſcorneth the plot, to make onely dunces Fellows, to the end he may himſelf command in chief. As thinking that they who know nothing, will do any thing, and ſo he ſhall be a figure amongſt cyphers, a bee amongſt drones. Yet oftentimes ſuch Maſters are juſtly met with, and they find by experience, that the dulleſt horſes are not eaſieſt to be reined. But our Maſter endeavours ſo to order his elections, that every Scholar may be fit to make a Fellow, and every Fellow a Maſter. 9

Chap. 15.

The life of Dr. Metcalf

Nicholas Metcalf Doctour of Divinity, extracted out of an ancient and numerous family of Gentry in Yorkſhire, was Archdeacon of Rocheſter, and Chaplain to John Fiſher the Biſhop thereof; by whom this our Doctour was employed to iſſue forth the monies for the building of S. Johns Colledge in Cambridge. For Margaret Counteſſe of Richmond and Derby intending to graft S. Johns Colledge into the old ſtock of S. Johns Hoſpitall, referr'd all to the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and he uſed Metcalf as an agent in all proceedings which did concern that Foundation: which will inferre him to be both a wiſe and an honeſt man.

Some make him to be but meanly * learned; and * one telleth us a long ſtorie how a Sophiſter put a fallacie upon him, *à ſenſu diviſo ad ſenſum compoſitum*, and yet the Doctours dimme eyes could not diſcern it. But ſuch trifles were beneath him; and what wonder is it if a Generall long uſed in governing an armie, hath forgotten his ſchool-play, and Fencers rules, to put by every thruſt?

Doubtleſſe, had not his learning been ſufficient, Biſhop Fiſher, a great clerk himſelf, would not have placed him to govern the Colledge. But we know that ſome count all others but dry ſcholars, whoſe learning runneth in a different channell

* *Aſcham. Schoolmaſter, 2. Book, fol. 47.*

* *Lively in his Chron. of Perſian Monarch. pag. 196.*

channell from their own: and it is poſsible, that the great diſtance betwixt men in matter of Religion might hinder the new learning in one to ſee the old learning in the other.

But grant that Metcalf, with Themiſtocles, could not fiddle, yet he could make a little city a great one: though dull in himſelf, he could whet others by his encouragement. He found the Colledge ſpending ſcarce two hundred marks by the yeare, he left it ſpending a * thouſand marks and more. For he not onely procured and ſettled many donations, and by-foundations (as we term them) of Fellowſhips, and Scholarſhips, founded by other; but was a Benefactour himſelf, *Pro certis ornamentis & ſtructuris in Capella, & pro ædificatione ſex Camerarum à tergo Coquinæ,* &c. as it is evidenced in the Colledge books. He counted the Colledge his own home, and therefore cared not what coſt he beſtowed on it: not like thoſe Maſters, who making their Colledges as ſteps to higher advancement will trample on them to raiſe up themſelves, and uſing their wings to flie up to their own honour, cannot afford to ſpread them to brood their Colledge. But the thriving of the nourcery, is the beſt argument to prove the skill and care of the nource. See what ſtore of worthy men the houſe in his time did yield:

* *Aſcham. in loco priùs citato.*

William Cecill, *Lord Burly*,
Sr. John Cheek,
Walter Haddon. } *Stateſmen.*

Ralph Bain, *Coventrie and Lichfield.*
John Chriſtopherſon, *Chicheſter,*
Robert Horn, *Winton,*
James Pilkinton, *Dureſme,*
John Tailour, *Lincoln,*
Thomas Watſon. *Lincoln.*
} *Biſhop of*

Roger Aſcham,
George * Bullock,
Roger * Hutchinſon,
Alban Langdale,
John Seaton. } *Learned Writers.*

* *Pitzæus de Scriptor. Angli. pag. 773.*
* *Baleus de Scriptor. Anglicanis.*

Hugh

Hugh Fitz-Herbert,
William Jreland,
Laurence Pilkinton,
------Tomſon,
Henry Wright.
} *Learned Men.*

With very many more. For though I dare not ſay that all theſe were old enough to bear fruit in Metcalfs time, yet ſure I am by him they were inoculated, and in his dayes admitted into the Colledge.

Yet for all theſe his deſerts Metcalf in his old age was expell'd the Colledge, and driven out when he could ſcarce go. A new generation grew up (advanced by him) whoſe active ſpirits ſtumbled at his gravity (young ſeamen do count ballaſt needleſſe yea burthenſome in a ſhip) and endeavoured his removall. It appears not what particular fault they laid to his charge. Some think that the Biſhop of Rocheſter his good lord being put to death, occaſioned his ruine, Fiſhers misfortune being Metcalfs higheſt miſdemeanour. He ſunk with his Patron, and when his ſunne was ſet it was preſently night with him: for according to the Spaniſh proverb, * *where goes the bucket, there goes the rope,* where the principall miſcarries, all the dependants fall with him.

* *Yrà la ſoga con el calderon.*

Others conceive it was for his partiality in preferring Northern men, as if in his compaſſe there were no points but ſuch onely as looked to the North, advancing alone his own countrey-men, and more reſpecting their need then deſerts. Indeed long * before, I find William Millington firſt Provoſt of Kings Colledge put out of his place, for his partiality in electing Yorkſhire men.

* 1446. *Manuſcrip Hutcher Coll. Regal.*

But herein Metcalf is ſufficiently juſtified: for he found Charity hotteſt in the cold countrey, *Northern men were moſt* * *partiall* (ſaith one) *in giving lands to the Colledge, for the furtherance of learning.* Good reaſon therefore Northern Scholars ſhould be moſt watered there, where Northern Benefactours rained moſt.

* *Aſcham in loco citato.*

Well, good old Metcalf muſt forſake the Houſe. Methinks

the bluſhing bricks ſeem aſham'd of their ingratitudes, and each doore, window, and caſement in the Colledge, was a mouth to plead for him.

But what ſhall we ſay? Mark generally the grand deſervers in States, and you ſhall find them loſe their luſtre before they end their life. The world, out of covetouſneſſe to ſave charges to pay them their wages, quarrelling with them, as if an over-merit were an offence. And whereas ſome impute this to the malignant influence of the heavens, I aſcribe it rather to a peſtilent vapour out of the earth; I mean, That rather men then ſtarres are to be blamed for it.

He was twenty years Maſter, and on the 4 day of June 1537. went out of his office, and it ſeems dyed ſoon after: his Epitaph is faſtned on a piece of braſſe on the wall, in the Colledge-Chappell. We muſt not forget that all who were great doers in his expulſion, were great ſufferers afterwards, and dyed all in great * miſerie. There is difference betwixt prying into Gods ſecrets, and being ſtark blind: Yea I queſtion whether we are not bound to look where God points by ſo memorable a judgement, ſhewing that thoſe branches moſt juſtly whithered which pluck't up their own root.

* Omnes qui Metcalfi excludendi autores exſtiterunt, multis adverſæ fortunæ procellis (ſive divinâ ultione ſeu fato ſuo) jactati, de gradu dejecti & deturbati, inglorii mortem obierunt exemplo memorabili, *Caius lib.* 1. *Hiſt. Cantab. pag.* 75. *&* 76.

Chap. 16.

The good Schoolmaſter.

THere is ſcarce any profeſsion in the Common-wealth more neceſſary. which is ſo ſlightly performed. The reaſons whereof I conceive to be theſe: firſt, young ſcholars make this calling their refuge, yea perchance before they have taken any degree in the Univerſity, commence Schoolmaſters in the countrey, as if nothing elſe were required to ſet up this profeſsion but onely a rod and a ferula. Secondly, others who are able uſe it onely as a paſſage to better preferment, to patch the rents in their preſent fortune, till they can

can provide a new one, and betake themſelves to ſome more gainfull calling. Thirdly, they are diſheartned from doing their beſt with the miſerable reward which in ſome places they receive, being Maſters to the children, and ſlaves to their parents. Fourthly, being grown rich, they grow negligent, and ſcorn to touch the ſchool, but by the proxie of an Uſher. But ſee how well our Schoolmaſter behaves himſelf.

His genius inclines him with delight to his profeſsion. Some men had as lieve be ſchoolboyes as Schoolmaſters, to be tyed to the ſchool as Coopers Dictionary, and Scapula's Lexicon are chained to the desk therein; and though great ſcholars, and skilfull in other arts, are bunglers in this this: But God of his goodneſſe hath fitted ſeverall men for ſeverall callings, that the neceſsity of Church, and State, in all conditions may be provided for. So that he who beholds the fabrick thereof may ſay, God hewed out this ſtone, and appointed it to lie in this very place, for it would fit none other ſo well, and here it doth moſt excellent. And thus God mouldeth ſome for a Schoolmaſters life, undertaking it with deſire and delight, and diſcharging it with dexterity and happy ſucceſſe. *Maxime* 1

He ſtudieth his ſcholars natures as carefully as they their books; and ranks their diſpoſitions into ſeverall forms. And though it may ſeem difficult for him in a great ſchool to deſcend to all particulars, yet experienced Schoolmaſters may quickly make a Grammar of boyes natures, and reduce them all (ſaving ſome few exceptions to theſe generall rules. 2

1 Thoſe that are ingenious and induſtrious. The conjunction of two ſuch Planets in a youth preſage much good unto him. To ſuch a lad a frown may be a whipping, and a whipping a death; yea where their Maſter whips them once, ſhame whips them all the week after. Such natures he uſeth with all gentleneſſe.

2 Thoſe that are iugenious and idle. Theſe think with

the hare in the fable, that running with ſnails (ſo they count the reſt of their ſchool-fellows) they ſhall come ſoon enough to the Poſt, though ſleeping a good while before their ſtarting. Oh, a good rod would finely take them napping.

3 Thoſe that are dull and diligent. Wines the ſtronger they be the more lees they have when they are new. Many boyes are muddy-headed till they be clarified with age, and ſuch afterwards prove the beſt. Briſtoll diamonds are both bright, and ſquared and pointed by Nature, and yet are ſoft and worthleſſe; whereas orient ones in India are rough and rugged naturally. Hard rugged and dull natures of youth acquit themſelves afterwards the jewells of the countrey, and therefore their dulneſſe at firſt is to be born with, if they be diligent. That Schoolmaſter deſerves to be beaten himſelf, who beats Nature in a boy for a fault. And I queſtion whether all the whipping in the world can make their parts which are naturally ſluggiſh, riſe one minute before the houre Nature hath appointed.

4 Thoſe that are invincibly dull and negligent alſo. Correction may reform the latter, not amend the former. All the whetting in the world can never ſet a raſours edge on that which hath no ſteel in it. Such boyes he conſigneth over to other profeſſions. Shipwrights and boatmakers will chooſe thoſe crooked pieces of timber, which other carpenters refuſe. Thoſe may make excellent merchants and mechanicks which will not ſerve for Scholars.

3 *He is able, diligent, and methodicall in his teaching*; not leading them rather in a circle then forwards. He minces his precepts for children to ſwallow, hanging clogs on the nimbleneſſe of his own ſoul, that his Scholars may go along with him.

He

He is, and will be known to be an abſolute Monarch in his ſchool. 4
If cockering Mothers proffer him money to purchaſe their ſonnes an exemption from his rod (to live as it were in a peculiar, out of their Maſters juriſdiction) with diſdain he refuſeth it, and ſcorns the late cuſtome in ſome places of commuting whipping into money, and ranſoming boyes from the rod at a ſet price. If he hath a ſtubborn youth, correction-proof, he debaſeth not his authority by conteſting with him, but fairly if he can puts him away before his obſtinacy hath infected others.

He is moderate in inflicting deſerv'd correction. Many a 5
Shoolmaſter better anſwereth the name παιδοτρίβης then παιδαγωγὸς, rather tearing his ſcholars fleſh with whipping, then giving them good education. No wonder if his ſcholars hate the Muſes, being preſented unto them in the ſhapes of fiends and furies. Junius complains *de inſolenti* * *carnificina* of his Shoolmaſter, by whom *conſcindebatur flagris ſepties aut octies in dies ſingulos.* Yea heare the lamentable verſes of poore Tuſſer in his own life:

* *in his life, of his own writing.*

From Pauls I went, to Eaton ſent.
To learn ſtraightwayes the Latine phraſe,
Where fifty three ſtripes given to me
At once I had.
For fault but ſmall, or none at all,
It came to paſſe thus beat I was;
See * *Vdal, ſee the mercy of thee*
To me poore lad.

* *Nich. Udal, Shoolmaſter of Eaton in the Reigne of King Heury the eight.*

Such an Orbilius marres more Scholars then he makes: Their Tyranny hath cauſed many tongues to ſtammer, which ſpake plain by nature, and whoſe ſtuttering at firſt was nothing elſe but fears quavering on their ſpeech at their Maſters preſence. And whoſe mauling them about their heads hath dull'd thoſe who in quickneſſe exceeded their Maſter.

He makes his ſchool free to him, who ſues to him in forma 6
pauperis. And ſurely Learning is the greateſt alms that can be given. But he is a beaſt, who becauſe the poore Scholar

cannot pay him his wages, payes the Scholar in his whipping. Rather are diligent lads to be encouraged with all excitements to Learning. This minds me of what I have heard concerning Mr. Buſt, that worthy late Schoolmaſter of Eaton, who would never ſuffer any wandring begging Scholar (ſuch as juſtly the Statute hath ranked in the forefront of Rogues) to come into his ſchool, but would thruſt him out with earneſtneſſe (however privately charitable unto him) leſt his ſchool-boyes ſhould be diſheartned from their books, by ſeeing ſome Scholars after their ſtudying in the Univerſity preferr'd to beggery.

7 *He ſpoyls not a good ſchool to make thereof a bad Colledge*, therein to teach his Scholars Logick. For beſides that Logick may have an action of treſpaſſe againſt Grammar for encroaching on her liberties, Syllogiſmes are Soleciſmes taught in the ſchool, and oftentimes they are forc'd afterwards in the Univerſity to unlearn the fumbling skill they had before.

8 *Out of his ſchool he is no whit pedanticall in carriage or diſcourſe*; contenting himſelf to be rich in Latine, though he doth not gingle with it in every company wherein he comes.

To conclude, Let this amongſt other motives make Schoolmaſters carefull in their place, that the eminencies of their Scholars have commended the memories of their Schoolmaſters to poſterity, who otherwiſe in obſcurity had altogether been forgotten. Who had ever heard of R. *Bond in Lancaſhire but for the breeding of learned Aſcham his Scholar? or of *Hartgrave in Brundly ſchool, in the ſame County, but becauſe he was the firſt did teach worthy Doctour Whitaker, Nor do I honour the memory of Mulcaſter for any thing ſo much, as for his Scholar, that gulf of learning, Biſhop Andrews. This made the Athenians, the day before the great feaſt of Theſeus their founder, to ſacrifice a ramme to the memory of *Conidas his Schoolmaſter that firſt inſtructed him.

* *Grant. in vit. Aſcham. pag. 629.*

* *Aſhton in the life of Whitaker, pag. 29.*

* *Plutar. in vit. Theſei.*

CHAP 17.

Chap. 17.

The good Merchant

Is one who by his trading claſpeth the ilands to the continent, and one countrey to another. An excellent gardiner, who makes England bear wine, and oyl, and ſpices; yea herein goes beyond Nature in cauſing that *Omnis fert omnia tellus.* He wrongs neither himſelf, nor the Commonwealth, nor private chapmen which buy commodities of him. As for his behaviour towards the Commonwealth, it farre ſurpaſſes my skill to give any Rules thereof; onely this I know, that to export things of neceſsity, and to bring in forrein needleſſe toyes, makes a rich Merchant, and a poore Kingdome: for the State loſeth her radicall moyſture, and gets little better then ſweat in exchange, except, the neceſſaries which are exported be exceeding plentifull, which then though neceſſary in their own nature become ſuperfluous through their abundance. We will content our ſelves to give ſome generall advertiſements concerning his behaviour towards his chapmen, whom he uſeth well in the quantity, quality, and price of the commodities he ſells them.

He wrongs not the buyer in Number, Weight, or Meaſure. *Maxime* 1
Theſe are the Land-marks of all trading, which muſt not be removed: for ſuch coſenage were worſe then open felony. Firſt, becauſe they rob a man of his purſe, and never bid him ſtand. Secondly, becauſe highway-thieves defie, but theſe pretend juſtice. Thirdly, as much as lies in their power, they endeavour to make God acceſſary to their coſenage, deceiving by pretending his weights. For God is the principall clark of the market, *All the* * *weights of the bag are his work.* * *Prov.*16.11.

He never warrants any Ware for good but what is ſo indeed. 2
Otherwiſe he is a thief, and may be a murtherer, if ſelling ſuch things as are apply'd inwardly. Beſides, in ſuch a caſe he counts himſelf guilty if he ſelleth ſuch wares as are bad,

though without his knowledge, if avouching them for good; becauſe he may, profeſſeth, and is bound to be Maſter in his own myſtery, and therefore in conſcience muſt recompence the buyers loſſe, except he gives him an Item to buy it at his own adventure.

3 *He either tells the faults in his ware, or abates proportionably in the price he demands*: for then the low value ſhews the viciouſneſſe of it. Yet commonly when Merchants depart with their commodities, we heare (as in funerall orations) all the virtues but none of the faults thereof.

4 *He never demands out of diſtance of the price he intends to take*: If not alwayes within the touch, yet within the reach of what he means to ſell for. Now we muſt know there be foure ſeverall prices of vendible things. Firſt, the Price of the market, which ebbes and flows according to the plenty or ſcarcity of coyn, commodities, and chapmen. Secondly, the Price of friendſhip, which perchance is more giving then ſelling, and therefore not ſo proper at this time. Thirdly, the Price of fancie, as twenty pounds or more for a dog or hauk, when no ſuch inherent worth can naturally be in them, but by the buyers and ſellers fancie reflecting on them. Yet I believe the money may be lawfully taken. Firſt, becauſe the ſeller ſometimes on thoſe terms is as loth to forgo it, as the buyer is willing to have it. And I know no ſtandard herein whereby mens affections may be meaſured. Secondly, it being a matter of pleaſure, and men able and willing, let them pay for it, *Volenti non fit injuria*. Laſtly, there is the Price of coſenage, which our Merchant from his heart deteſts and abhorres.

5 *He makes not advantage of his chapmans ignorance, chiefly if referring himſelf to his honeſty*: where the ſellers conſcience is all the buyers skill, who makes him both ſeller and judge, ſo that he doth not ſo much ask as order what he muſt pay. When one told old Biſhop Latimer that the Cutler had coſened him, in making him pay twopence for a knife not (in thoſe dayes) worth a peny; *No*, quoth Latimer, *he coſen'd not me but his own conſcience*. On the other ſide

S. * Au-

S.* Auguſtine tells us of a ſeller, who out of ignorance asked for a book farre leſſe then it was worth, and the buyer (conceive himſelf to be the man if you pleaſe) of his own accord gave him the full value thereof.

* *Lib. 13. de Trinitat. c. 3.*

6 *He makes not the buyer pay the ſhot for his prodigality*; as when the Merchant through his own ignorance or ill husbandry hath bought dear, he will not bring in his unneceſſary expences on the buyers ſcore: and in ſuch a caſe he is bound to ſell cheaper then he bought.

7 *Selling by retail he may juſtifie the taking of greater gain:* becauſe of his care, pains, and coſt of fetching thoſe wares from the fountain, and in parcelling and dividing them. Yet becauſe retailers trade commonly with thoſe who have leaſt skill what they buy, and commonly ſell to the poorer ſort of people, they muſt be carefull not to grate on their neceſsity.

But how long ſhall I be retailing out rules to this Merchant? It would employ a Caſuiſt an apprentiſhip of years: take our Saviours whole-ſale rule, *Whatſoever ye would have men do unto you, do you unto them; for this is the Law, and the Prophets.*

Chap. 18.

The good Yeoman.

IS a Gentleman in Ore, whom the next age may ſee refined; and is the wax capable of a gentile impreſsion, when the Prince ſhall ſtamp it. Wiſe Solon (who accounted * Tellus the Athenian the moſt happy man for living privately on his own lands) would ſurely have pronounced the Engliſh Yeomanry, a fortunate condition, living in the temperate Zone, betwixt greatueſſe and want, an eſtate of people almoſt peculiar to England. France and Italy are like a die, which hath no points between ſink and ace, Nobility and Peſantry. Their walls though high, muſt needs be hollow, wanting filling ſtones. Indeed Germany hath her

* *Herodotus lib. 1. pag. 12.*

her Boores, like our Yeomen, but a tyrannicall appropriation of Nobility to ſome few ancient families, their Yeomen are excluded from ever riſing higher to clarifie their bloods. In England the Temple of Honour is bolted againſt none, who have paſſed through the Temple of Virtue: nor is a capacity to be gentile denyed to our Yeoman, who thus behaves himſelf.

Maxime 1 *He wears ruſſet clothes, but makes golden payment*, having tinne in his buttons, and ſilver in his pocket. If he chance to appear in clothes above his rank, it is to grace ſome great man with his ſervice, and then he bluſheth at his own bravery. Otherwiſe he is the ſureſt land-mark, whence forreiners may take aim of the ancient Engliſh cuſtomes; the Gentry more floting after forrein faſhions.

2 *In his houſe he is bountifull both to ſtrangers, and poore people.* Some hold, when Hoſpitality died in England, ſhe gave her laſt groan amongſt the Yeomen of Kent. And ſtill at our Yeomans table you ſhall have as many joints as diſhes: No meat diſguis'd with ſtrange ſauces; no ſtraggling joynt of a ſheep in the midſt of a paſture of graſſe, beſet with ſallads on every ſide, but ſolid ſubſtantiall food; no ſerviters (more nimble with their hands then the gueſts with their teeth) take away meat, before ſtomachs are taken away. Here you have that which in it ſelf is good, made better by the ſtore of it, and beſt by the welcome to it.

3 *He hath a great ſtroke in making a Knight of the ſhire.* Good reaſon for he makes a whole line in the ſubſidie book, where whatſoever he is rated he payes without any regret, not caring how much his purſe is let blood, ſo it be done by the adviſe of the phyſicians of the State.

4 *He ſeldome goes farre abroad, and his credit ſtretcheth further then his travell.* He goes not to London, but *ſe defendendo* to ſave himſelf of a fine, being returned of a Jurie, where ſeeing the King once, he prayes for him ever afterwards.

5 *In his own countrey he is a main man in Iuries.* Where if the Judge pleaſe to open his eyes in matter of law, he needs not to be led by the noſe in matters of fact. He is very obſervant

ſervant of the Judges *item*, when it follows the truths *inprimis*; otherwiſe (though not mutinous in a Jurie) he cares not whom he diſpleaſeth ſo he pleaſeth his own conſcience.

6 *He improveth his land to a double value by his good husbandry.* Some grounds that wept with water, or frown'd with thorns, by draining the one, and clearing the other, he makes both to laugh and ſing with corn. By marle and limeſtones burnt he bettereth his ground, and his induſtry worketh miracles, by turning ſtones into bread. Conqueſt and good husbandry both inlarge the Kings Dominions: The one by the ſword, making the acres more in number; the other by the plough, making the ſame acres more in value. Solomon ſaith, *The King himſelf is maintained by husbandry*. Pythis * a King having diſcovered rich mines in his kingdome, employed all his people in digging of them, whence tilling was wholly neglected, inſomuch as a great famine enſued. His Queen, ſenſible of the calamities of the countrey, invited the King her husband to dinner, as he came home hungry from overſeeing his workmen in the mines. She ſo contrived it, that the bread and meat were moſt artificially made of gold; and the King was much delighted with the conceit thereof, till at laſt he called for reall meat to ſatisfie his hunger. *Nay*, ſaid the Queen, *if you employ all your ſubjects in your mines, you muſt expect to feed upon gold, for nothing elſe can your kingdome afford.*

* *Plutarch. de virtut. mulierum, exemplo ultimo.*

7 *In time of famine he is the Joſeph of the countrey, and keeps the poore from ſterving.* Then he tameth his ſtacks of corn, which not his covetouſneſſe but providence hath reſerv'd for time of need, and to his poore neighbours abateth ſomewhat of the high price of the market. The neighbour gentry court him for his acquaintance, which either he modeſtly waveth, or thankfully accepteth, but no way greedily deſireth. He inſults not on the ruines of a decayed Gentleman, but pities and relieves him: and as he is called *Goodman*, he deſires to anſwer to the name, and to be ſo indeed.

8 *In warre, though he ſerveth on foot, he is ever mounted on an high ſpirit:*

ſpirit: as being a ſlave to none, and a ſubject onely to his own Prince. Innocence and independance make a brave ſpirit: Whereas otherwiſe one muſt ask his leave to be valiant on whom depends. Therefore if a State run up all to Noble men and Gentlemen, ſo that the husbandmen be onely meer labourers, or cottagers, (which * one calls but hous'd beggers) it may have good Cavalry, but never good bands of foot; ſo that their armies will be like thoſe birds call'd *Apodes*, without feet, alwayes onely flying on their wings of horſe. Wherefore to make good Infantry, it requireth men bred, not in a ſervile or indigent faſhion, but in ſome free and plentifull manner. Wiſely therefore did that knowing Prince, King Henry the ſeventh, provide laws for the increaſe of his Yeomanry, that his kingdome ſhould not be like to Coppice-woods; where the ſtaddles being left too thick, all runs to buſhes and briers, and there's little clean underwood. For enacting, that houſes uſed to husbandry ſhould be kept up with a competent proportion of land, he did ſecretly ſow Hydra's teeth, whereupon (according to the Poets fiction (ſhould riſe up armed men for the ſervice of this kingdome.

* *Bacons Henry 7. pag. 74.*

Chap. 19.

The Handicrafts-man.

HE is a neceſſary member in a Common-wealth: For though Nature, which hath armed moſt other creatures, ſent man naked into the world, yet in giving him hands and wit to uſe them, in effect ſhe gave him Shells, Scales, Paws, Claws, Horns, Tusks, with all offenſive and defenſive weapons of Beaſts, Fiſh and Fowl, which by the help of his hands in imitation he may provide for himſelf, and herein, the skill of our Artiſan doth conſiſt.

Maxime 1

His trade is ſuch whereby he provides things neceſſary for mankind. What S. * Paul ſaith of the naturall is alſo true of the politick body, thoſe members of the body are much more neceſſary which ſeem moſt feeble. Mean trades for profit,

* 1. *Cor.* 12.

are

are moſt neceſſary in the State, and a houſe may better want a gallery then a kitchin. The Philiſtins knew this when they maſſacred all the ſmiths in Iſrael(who might worſe be ſpared then all the uſerers therein) and whoſe hammers nail the Common-wealth together, being neceſſary both in peace and warre.

2 *Or elſe his trade contributeth to mans lawfull pleaſure.* God is not ſo hard a maſter, but that he alloweth his ſervants ſauce (beſides hunger) to eat with their meat.

3 *But in no caſe will he be of ſuch a trade which is a mere Pander to mans luſt*; and onely ſerves their wantonneſſe (which is pleaſure runne ſtark mad) and fooliſh curioſity. Yet are there too many extant of ſuch profeſsions, which one would think, ſhould ſtand in dayly fear leſt the world ſhould turn wiſe, and ſo all trades be caſhierd, but that (be it ſpoken to their ſhame) 'tis as ſafe a tenure to hold a livelyhood by mens ryot, as by their neceſsity.

4 *The wares he makes ſhew good to the eye, but prove better in the uſe.* For he knows if he ſets his mark (the Tower-ſtamp of his credit) on any bad wares, he ſets a deeper brand on his own conſcience. Nothing hath more debaſed the credit of our Engliſh cloth beyond the ſeas, then the deceitfullneſſe in making them, ſince the Fox hath crept under the fliece of the Sheep.

5 *By his ingenuouſneſſe he leaves his art better then he found it.* Herein the Hollanders are excellent, where children get their living, when but newly they have gotten their life, by their induſtrie. Indeed Nature may ſeem to have made thoſe Netherlanders the younger brethren of mankind, allowing them little land, and that alſo ſtanding in dayly fear of a double deluge, of the ſea and the Spaniard : but ſuch is their painfulneſſe and ingenuity, hating lazineſſe as much as they love liberty, that what commodities grow not on their Countrey by nature they graft on it by art, and have wonderfully improved all making of Manufactures, Stuffes, Clocks, Watches : theſe latter at firſt were made ſo great and heavy, it was rather a burden then an ornament to wear

them, though ſince watches have been made as light and little, as many that wear them make of their time.

6 *He is willing to communicate his skill to poſterity.* An invention though found is loſt if not imparted. But as it is reported of ſome old toads, that before their death they ſuck up the gelly in their own heads (which otherwiſe would be hardned into a pretious ſtone) out of ſpight, that men ſhould receive no benefit thereby ; ſo ſome envious Artiſans will have their cunning die with them, that none may be the better for it, and had rather all mankind ſhould loſe, then any man gain by them.

7 *He ſeldome attaineth to any very great eſtate* : except his trade hath ſome outlets and excurſions into wholeſale and merchandize ; otherwiſe mere Artificers cannot heap up much wealth. It is difficult for gleaners, without ſtealing whole ſheaves, to fill a barn. His chief wealth conſiſteth in enough, and that he can live comfortably, and leave his children the inheritance of their education.

8 *Yet he is a grand Benefactour to the Commonwealth.* England in former ages, like a dainty dame, partly out of ſtate, but more out of lazineſſe, would not ſuckle the fruit of her own body, to make the beſt to battle and improve her own commodities, but put them out to nurſe to the Netherlanders, who were well paid for their pains. In thoſe dayes the Sword and the Plough ſo took up all mens imployments that clothing was whollie neglected, and ſcarce any other webs to be found in houſes, then what the ſpiders did make. But ſince ſhe hath ſeen and mended her errour, making the beſt uſe of her own wooll ; and indeed the riches of a kingdome doth conſiſt in driving the home commodities thereof as farre as they will go, working them to their very perfection, imploying more handicrafts thereby. The ſheep feeds more with his fliece then his fleſh, doing the one but once, but the other once a yeare, many families ſubſiſting by the working thereof. Let not meaner perſons be diſpleaſed with reading thoſe verſes wherewith Queen Eliſabeth her ſelf was ſo highly affected, when in the one

one and twentieth yeare of her * reigne ſhe came in progreſſe to Norwich, wherein a child, repreſenting the ſtate of the City ſpake to her highneſſe as followeth,

Moſt gracious Prince, undoubted Sovereigne Queen,
Our onely joy, next God, and chief defence,
In this ſmall ſhew our whole eſtate is ſeen,
The wealth we have, we find proceeds from hence:
The idle hand hath here no place to feed,
The painfull wight hath ſtill to ſerve his need.

Again, our ſeat denies us traffick here.
The ſea too near decides us from the reſt:
So weak we were within this dozen yeare,
That care did quench the courage of the beſt:
*But good advice hath taught theſe * little hands*
To rend in twain the force of pining bands.

From combed wooll we draw this ſlender thread,
From thence the looms have dealing with the ſame,
And thence again in order do proceed
Theſe ſeverall works which skilfull art doth frame:
And all to drive dame Need into her cave
Our heads and hands together laboured have.

We bought before the things which now we ſell:
Theſe ſlender imps, their works do paſſe the waves:
Gods peace and thine we hold, and proſper well,
Of every mouth the hands the charges ſaves:
Thus through thy help, and aid of power divine
Doth Norwich live, whoſe hearts and goods are thine.

We have cauſe to hope that as we have ſeen the cities Dornicks and Arras brought over into England, ſo poſterity may ſee all Flaunders brought hither, I mean that their works ſhall be here imitated, and that either our land ſhall be taught to bear forrein commodities, or our people taught to forbear the uſing of them.

*Hollingſhead pag. 1290.

* *Sixteen little children were there preſented to her Majeſtie, eight ſpinning worſted, and eight knitting yarne hoſe.*

I ſhould now come to give the deſcription of the Day-Labourer (of whom we have onely a dearth in a plentifull harveſt) but ſeeing his character is ſo co-incident with the hired ſervant, it may well be ſpared. And now wee'l riſe from the hand to the arm, and come to deſcribe the Souldier.

Chap. 20.

The good Souldier.

A Souldier is one of a lawfull, neceſſary, commendable, and honourable profeſsion; yea God himſelf may ſeem to be one free of the company of Souldiers, in that he ſtyleth himſelf, *A man of warre.* Now though many hate Souldiers as the twigs of the rod Warre, werewith God ſcourgeth wanton countreys into repentance, yet is their calling ſo needfull, that were not ſome Souldiers we muſt be all Souldiers, dayly imployed to defend our own, the world would grow ſo licentious.

Maxime 1 *He keepeth a clear and quiet conſcience in his breaſt, which otherwiſe will gnaw out the roots of all valour.* for vicious Souldiers are compaſſed with enemies on all ſides, their foes without them, and an ambuſh within them of fleſhly luſts, which, as S. Peter ſaith, *fight againſt the ſoul.* None fittter to go to war, then thoſe who have made their peace with God in Chriſt; for ſuch a mans ſoul is an impregnable fort: It cannot be ſcaled with ladders, for it reacheth up to heaven; nor be broken by batteries, for it is walled with braſſe; nor undermined by pioners, for he is founded on a rock; nor betrayed by treaſon, for faith it ſelf keeps it; nor be burnt by granadoes, for he can quench the fiery darts of the devil; nor be forced by famine, for *a good conſcience is a continuall feaſt.*

2 *He chiefly avoids thoſe ſinnes, to which Souldiers are taxed as moſt ſubiect.* Namely common ſwearing, which impaireth ones credit by degrees, and maketh all his promiſes not to be truſted; for he who for no profit will ſinne againſt God,

for

for ſmall profit will treſpaſſe againſt his neighbour; drinking, whoring. When valiant Ziſca, near Pilſen in Bohemia, fought againſt his enemies, he commanded the women which followed his army, to caſt their kercheifs and partlets on the ground, wherein their enemies being entangled by their ſpurs (for though horſemen, they were forced to alight, and fight on foot, through the roughneſſe of the place) were ſlain before they could * unlooſe their feet. A deep morall may be gathered hence, and women have often been the nets to catch and enſnare the ſouls of many Martiall men.

*Fox Acts and Monum. pag. 646.

3

He counts his Princes lawfull command to be his ſufficient warrant to fight. In a defenſive warre, when his countrey is * hoſtiley invaded, 'tis pity but his neck ſhould hang in ſuſpence with his conſcience that doubts to fight; in offenſive warre, though the caſe be harder, the common Souldier is not to diſpute, but do * his Princes command. Otherwiſe Princes, before they leavie an army of Souldiers muſt firſt leavie an army of Caſuiſts and Confeſſours to ſatisfie each ſcrupulous Souldier in point of right to the warre; and the moſt cowardly will be the moſt conſcientious, to multiply doubts eternally. Beſides, cauſes of warre are ſo complicated and perplex'd, ſo many things falling in the proſecution, as may alter the originall ſtate thereof, and private Souldiers have neither calling nor ability to dive into ſuch myſteries. But if the conſcience of a Counſellour or Commander in chief, remonſtrates in himſelf the unlawfulneſſe of this warre, he is bound humbly to repreſent to his Prince his reaſons againſt it.

* In publicos hoſtes omnis homo miles, *Tertull. Apol. cap. 2.*

* *Ameſius Caſ. Conſcien. lib. 5. cap. 33.*

4

He eſteemeth all hardſhip eaſie through hopes of victory. Moneys are the ſinews of warre, yet if theſe ſinews ſhould chance to be ſhrunk, and pay caſually fall ſhort, he takes a fit of this convulſion patiently; he is contented though in cold weather his hands muſt be their own fire, and warm themſelves with working; though he be better armed againſt their enemies then the weather, and his corſlet wholler then his clothes; though he hath more Faſts and Vigils in his

almanack then the Romiſh Church did ever enjoy: he patiently endureth drought for deſire of honour, and one thirſt quencheth another. In a word, though much indebted to his own back and belly, aud unable to pay them, yet he hath credit himſelf, and confidently runnes on ticket with himſelf, hoping the next victory will diſcharge all ſcores with advantage.

5 *He looks at and alſo through his wages, at Gods glory, and his countreys good.* He counts his pay an honourable addition, but no valuable compenſation for his pains: for what proportion is there betwixt foure ſhillings aweek, and adventuring his life? I cannot ſee how their calling can be lawfull, who for greater wages will fight on any ſide againſt their own King and cauſe; yea as falſe witneſſes were hired againſt our bleſſed * Saviour (money will make the mouths of men plead againſt their Maker) ſo were the Giants now in the world, who, as the Poets feigned, made warre againſt God himſelf, and ſhould they offer great pay, they would not want mercenary Souldiers to aſsiſt them.

Mat. 28. 15.

6 *He attends with all readineſſe on the commands of his Generall*; rendring up his own judgement in obedience to the will and pleaſure of his Leader, and by an implicite faith believing all is beſt which he enjoyneth; leſt otherwiſe he be ſerved as the French Souldier was in Scotland ſome eighty years ſince, who firſt mounted the bulwark of a fort beſieged, whereupon enſued the gaining of the fort: but Mareſcol de * Thermes, the French Generall, firſt knighted him, and then hanged him within an houre after, becauſe he had done it without commandment.

* *Hollman in his book of the Embaſſadour.*

7 *He will not in a bravery expoſe himſelf to needleſſe perill.* 'Tis madneſſe to holloe in in the ears of ſleeping temptation, to awaken it againſt ones ſelf, or to go out of his calling to find a danger: But if a danger meets him (as he walks in his vocation) he neither ſtands ſtill, ſtarts aſide, nor ſteps backward, but either goes over it with valour, or under it with patience. All ſingle Duells he deteſteth, as having firſt no command in Gods Word; yea this arbitrary deciding cauſes

cauſes by the ſword ſubverts the fundamentall Laws of the Scripture: Secondly, no example in Gods Word, that of David and Goliah moving in an higher Sphere, as extraordinary: Thirdly, it tempts God to work a Miracle for mans pleaſure, and to invert the courſe of nature, whereby otherwiſe the ſtronger will beat the weaker: Fourthly, each Dueller challengeth his King as unable or unwilling legally to right him, and therefore he uſurps the office himſelf: Fifthly, if ſlaying, he hazards his neck to the halter; if ſlain, in heat of malice, without repentance, he adventures his ſoul to the devil.

Object. But there are ſome intricate caſes (as in Titles of land) which cannot otherwiſe be decided. Seeing therefore that in ſuch difficulties, the right in queſtion cannot be delivered by the midwifery of any judiciall proceedings, then it muſt (with Julius Cæſar in his mothers belly) be cut out and be determined by the ſword.

Anſw. Such a right may better be loſt, then to light a candle from hell to find it out, if the Judges cannot find a middle way to part it betwixt them. Beſides, in ſuch a caſe Duells are no *medium proportionatum* to find out the truth, as never appointed by God to that purpoſe. Nor doth it follow that he hath the beſt in right, who hath the beſt in fight; for he that reads the lawfulneſſe of actions by their events, holds the wrong end of the book upwards.

Object. But ſuppoſe an army of thirty thouſand Infidels ready to fight againſt ten thouſand Chriſtians, yet ſo that at laſt the Infidels are contented to try the day upon the valour of a ſingle Champion; whether in ſuch a caſe may not a Chriſtian undertake to combat with him, the rather becauſe the trebble oddes before is thereby reduced to terms of equalitie, and ſo the victory is made more probable.

Anſw. The victory was more probable before; becauſe it is more likely God will bleſſe his own means, then

means of mans appointing: and it is his prerogative to give victory, as well by few as by many. Probability of conqueſt is not to be meaſured by the eye of humane reaſon, contrary to the ſquare of Gods Word. Beſides, I queſtion whether it be lawfull for a Chriſtian army to derive their right of fighting Gods battels to any ſingle man. For the title every man hath to promote Gods glory, is ſo inveſted and inherent in his own particular perſon, that he cannot paſſe it over to another. None may appear in Gods ſervice by an Atturney; and when Religion is at the ſtake, there muſt be no lookers on (except impotent people, who alſo help by their prayers) and every one is bound to lay his ſhoulders to the work. Laſtly, would to God no Duels might be fought till this caſe came into queſtion. But how many daily fall out upon a more falſe, ſlight, and flitting ground, then the ſands of Callis whereon they fight: eſpecially, ſeeing there is an honourable Court appointed, or ſome other equivalent way, for taking up ſuch quarrells, and allowing reparations to the party injured.

Object. But Reputation is ſo ſpirituall a thing it is ineſtimable, and Honour falls not under valuation: Beſides, to complain to the civil Magiſtrate ſheweth no manhood, but is like a childs crying to his father, when he is onely beaten by his equall; and my enemies forc'd acknowledgement of his fault (enjoyn'd him by the Court) ſhews rather his ſubmiſsion to the laws then to me. But if I can civilize his rudeneſſe by my ſword, and chaſtize him into ſubmiſsion, then he ſings his penitentiall ſong in the true tune, and it comes naturally indeed.

Anſw. Honourable perſons in that Court are the moſt competent Judges of Honour, and though Credit be as tender as the apple of the eye, yet ſuch curious oculiſts can cure a blemiſh therein. And why, I pray, is it more diſgrace to repair to the Magiſtrate for redreſſe in Reputation,

putation, then to have recorſe to him in actions of treſpaſſe? The prentence of a forced ſubmiſsion is nothing, all ſubmiſsions having *aliquid violentum* in them; and even the Evangelicall repentance of Gods ſervants hath a mixture of legall terrour frighting them thereto.

Object. But Gownmen ſpeak out of an antipathy they bear to fighting: ſhould we be rul'd by them, we muſt break all our ſwords into penknifes; and Lawyers, to enlarge their gains, ſend prohibitions to remove ſuits from the Camps to their Courts: Divines are not to be conſulted with herein, as ignorant of the principles of Honour.

Anſw. Indeed Honour is a word of courſe in the talk of roring boyes, and pure enough in it ſelf, except their mouths ſoil it by often uſing of it: But indeed God is the fountain of Honour, Gods Word the Charter of Honour, and godly men the beſt Judges of it; nor is it any ſtain of cowardlineſſe for one to fear hell and damnation.

We may therefore conclude that the laws of Duelling, as the laws of drinking, had their originall from the devil; and therefore the declining of needleſſe quarrels in our Souldier, no abatement of Honour. I commend his diſcretion and valour, who walking in London-ſtreets met a gallant, who cryed to him a pretty diſtance beforehand, *I will have the wall?* *Yea* (anſwered he) *and take the houſe too, if you can but agree with the Landlord.* But when God, and his Prince, calls for him, our Souldier

Had rather die ten times then once ſurvive his credit. Though life be ſweet, it ſhall not flatter the pallat of his ſoul, as with the ſweetneſſe of life to make him ſwallow down the bitterneſſe of an eternall diſgrace: He begrutcheth not to get to his ſide a probability of victory by the certainty of his own death, and flieth from nothing ſo much as from the mention of flying. And though ſome ſay he is a mad-man that will purchaſe Honour ſo dearly with his bloud, as that he

he cannot live to enjoy what he hath bought; our Souldier knows that he ſhall poſſeſſe the reward of his valour with God in heaven, and alſo making the world his executor, leave to it the rich inheritance of his memory.

9 *Yet in ſome caſes he counts it no diſgrace to yield, where it is impoſſible to conquer*; as when ſwarms of enemies crowd about him, ſo that he ſhall rather be ſtifled then wounded to death: In ſuch a caſe if quarter be offered him he may take it with more honour then the other can give it; and if he throws up his deſperate game, he may happily winne the next, whereas if he playeth it out to the laſt, he ſhall certainly loſe it and himſelf. But if he be to fall into the hand of a barbarous enemy, whoſe giving him quarter is but repriving him for a more ignominious death, he had rather disburſe his life at the preſent, then to take day to fall into the hands of ſuch remorſleſſe creditours.

10 *He makes none the object of his cruelty, which cannot be the object of his fear.* Lyons they ſay (except forc'd with hunger) will not prey on women and children, * though I would wiſh none to try the truth hereof: the truly valiant will not hurt women or infants, nor will they be cruell to old men. What conqneſt is it to ſtrike him up, who ſtands but on one leg, and hath the other foot in the grave? But arrant cowards (ſuch as would conquer victory it ſelf, if it ſhould ſtand in their way as they flie) count themſelves never evenly match'd except they have threefold oddes on their ſide, and eſteem their enemie never diſarmed till they be dead. Such love to ſhew a nature ſteep'd in gall of paſsion, and diſplay the ignoble tyranny of prevailing daſtards: theſe being thus valiant againſt no reſiſtance, will make no reſiſtance when they meet with true valour.

* *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 16.*

11 *He counts it murther to kill any in could bloud.* Indeed in taking Cities by aſſault (eſpecially when Souldiers have ſuffered long in an hard ſiege) it is pardonable what preſent paſsion doth with a ſudden thruſt; but a premeditated back-blow in cold bloud is baſe. Some excuſe there is for bloud enraged, and no wonder if that ſcaldeth which boyleth:

leth: but when men ſhall call a conſultation in their ſoul, and iſſue thence a deliberate act, the more adviſed the deed is, the leſſe adviſed it is, when men raiſe their own paſsions, and are not raiſed by them; ſpecially if fair quarter be firſt granted; an alms which he who gives to day may crave to morrow, yea, he that hath the hilt in his hand in the morning, may have the point at his throat ere night.

12 *He doth not barbarouſly abuſe the bodies of his dead enemies.* We find that Hercules was the * firſt (the moſt valiant are ever the moſt mercifull) that ever ſuffered his enemies to carry away their dead bodies, after they had been put to the ſword. Belike before his time they cruelly cut the corps in pieces, or caſt them to the wild beaſts.

* *Plutarch. in vita Theſei, Pagin.* 15.

13 *In time of plenty he provides for want hereafter.* Yet generally Souldiers (as if they counted one Treaſurer in an army were enough) ſo hate covetouſneſſe that they cannot affect providence for the future, and come home with more marks in their bodies then pence in their pockets.

14 *He is willing and joyfull to embrace peace on good conditions.* The procreation of peace, and not the ſatisfiing of mens luſts and liberties, is the end of warre. Yet how many, having warre for their poſſeſsion, deſire, a perpetuity thereof! Wiſer men then King Henry the eights fool uſe to cry in fair weather, whoſe harveſt being onely in ſtorms, they themſelves deſire to raiſe them; wherefore fearing peace will ſtarve, whom warre hath fatted, and to render themſelves the more uſefull they prolong diſcord to the utmoſt, and could wiſh when ſwords are once drawn that all ſcabbards might be cut aſunder.

15 *He is as quiet and painfull in peace, as couragious in warre.* If he hath not gotten already enough whereon comfortably to ſubſiſt, he rebetakes himſelf to his former calling he had before the warre began: the wielding of his ſword hath not made him unwieldie to do any other work, and put his bones out of joynt to take pains. Hence comes it to paſſe, that ſome take by-courſes on the high-wayes, and death, whom they honourably fought for in the field, meets them in a worſe place. But

But we leave our Souldier, ſeeking by his virtues to aſcend from a private place, by the degrees of Sergeant, Lieutenant, Captain, Colonell, till he come to be a Generall, and then in the next book, God willing, you ſhall have his example.

Chap. 21.

The good Sea-Captain.

His Military part is concurrent with that of the Souldier already deſcribed: He differs onely in ſome Sea-properties, which we will now ſet down. Conceive him now in a Man of warre, with his letters of mart, well arm'd victuall'd and appointed, and ſee how he acquits himſelf.

Maxime 1 *The more power he hath, the more carefull he is not to abuſe it.* Indeed a Sea-captain is a King in the Iland of a ſhip, ſupreme Judge, above appeal, in cauſes civill and criminall, and is ſeldome brought to an account in Courts of Juſtice on land, for injuries done to his own men at ſea.

2 *He is carefull in obſerving of the Lords day.* He hath a watch in his heart though no bells in a ſteeple to proclaim that day by ringing to prayers. Sr. Francis Drake* in three years ſailing about the world loſt one whole day, which was ſcarce conſiderable in ſo long time. 'Tis to be feared ſome Captains at ſea loſe a day every week, one in ſeven, neglecting the Sabbath.

* *Manuſcr. of Mr. Forteſcue who went with him.*

3 *He is as pious and thankfull when a tempeſt is paſt, as devout when 'tis preſent*: not clamorous to receive mercies, and tongue-tied to return thanks. Many mariners are calm in a ſtorm, and ſtorm in a calm, bluſtring with oathes. In a tempeſt it comes to their turn to be religious, whoſe piety is but a fit of the wind, and when that's allayed, their devotion is ended.

4 *Eſcaping many dangers makes him not preſumptuous to run into them.* Not like thoſe Sea-men who (as if their hearts were mad

made of thoſe rocks they have often ſailed by) are ſo alwayes indeath they never think of it. Theſe in their navigations obſerve that it is farre hotter under the Tropicks in the coming to the Line, then under the Line it ſelf, and in like manner they conceive that the fear and fancy in preparing for death is more terrible then death it ſelf, which makes them by degrees deſperately to contemne it.

In taking a prize he moſt prizeth the mens lives whom he takes; 5
though ſome of them may chance to be Negroes or Savages. 'Tis the cuſtome of ſome to caſt them over-board, and there's an end of them: for the dumbe fiſhes will tell no tales. But the murder is not ſo ſoon drown'd as the men. What, is a brother by half bloud no kinne? a Savage hath God to his father by creation, though not the Church to his mother, and God will revenge his innocent bloud. But our Captain counts the image of God nevertheleſſe his image cut in ebony as if done in ivory, and in the blackeſt Moores he ſees the repreſentation of the King of heaven.

In dividing the gains he wrongs none who took pains to get them. 6
Not ſhifting off his poore mariners with nothing, or giving them onely the garbage of the prize, and keeping all the fleſh to himſelf. In time of peace he quietly returns home, and turns not to the trade of Pirates, who are the worſt ſea-vermine, and the devils water-rats.

His voyages are not onely for profit, but ſome for honour and knowledge; 7
to make diſcoveries of new countreys, imitating the worthy Peter Columbus. Before his time the world was cut off at the middle; Hercules Pillars (which indeed are the navell) being made the feet, and utmoſt bounds of the continent, till his ſucceſſefull induſtry inlarged it.

Primus ab infuſis quod terra emerſerat undis
*Nuncius adveniens ipſa * Columba fuit.* * *Gen.* 8. 11.
Occiduis primus qui terram invenit in undis
Nuncius adveniens ipſe Columbus erat.

Our Sea-captain is likewiſe ambitious to perfect what the other began. He counts it a diſgrace, ſeeing all mankind is one familie, ſundry countreys but ſeverall rooms, that we

who dwell in the parlour (ſo he counts Europe) ſhould not know the outlodgings of the ſame houſe, and the world be ſcarce acquainted with it ſelf before it be diſſolved from it ſelf at the day of judgement.

8 *He daily ſees, and duly conſiders Gods wonders in the deep.* Tell me, ye Naturaliſts, who ſounded the firſt march and retreat to the Tide, *Hither ſhalt thou come, and no further?* why doth not the water recover his right over the earth, being higher in nature? whence came the ſalt, and who firſt boyled it, which made ſo much brine: when the winds are not onely wild in a ſtorm, but even ſtark mad in an herricano, who is it that reſtores them again to their wits, and brings them aſleep in a calm? who made the mighty whales, who ſwim in a ſea of water, and have a ſea of oyl ſwimming in them? who firſt taught the water to imitate the creatures on land? ſo that the ſea is the ſtable of horſe-fiſhes, the ſtall of kine-fiſhes, the ſtye of hog-fiſhes, the kennell of dog-fiſhes, and in all things the ſea the ape of the land. Whence grows the amber-greece in the Sea? which is not ſo hard to find where it is, as to know what it is. Was not God the firſt ſhipwright? and all veſſels on the water deſcended from the loyns (or ribs rather) of Noahs ark; or elſe who durſt be ſo bold with a few crooked boards nailed together, a ſtick ſtanding upright, and a rag tied to it, to adventure into the ocean? what loadſtone firſt touched the loadſtone? or how firſt fell it in love with the North, rather affecting that cold climate, then the pleaſant Eaſt, or fruitfull South, or Weſt? how comes that ſtone to know more then men, and find the way to the land in a miſt? In moſt of theſe men take ſanctuary at *Occulta qualitas*, and complain that the room is dark; when their eyes are blind. Indeed they are Gods Wonders; and that Seaman the greateſt Wonder of all for his blockiſhneſſe, who ſeeing them daily neither takes notice of them, admires at them, nor is thankfull for them.

CHAP.

S^r FRANCIS DRAKE *one of the first of those w^ch in his Sea voyages put a Girdle about the* World. *He Died upon the Seas. Anno Dñi 1595. WM. sculp:*

Chap. 22.

The life of Sir Francis Drake.

FRancis Drake was born nigh * south Taveſtock in Devonſhire, and brought up in Kent; God dividing the honour betwixt two Counties, that the one might have his birth, and the other his education. His Father, being a Miniſter, fled into Kent for fear of the Six Articles, wherein the ſting of Popery ſtill remained in England, though the teeth thereof were knock'd out, and the Popes Supremacy aboliſhed. Coming into Kent, he bound his

* *Sir Francis Drake his nephew in the deſcript. of his third voyage Epiſtle to the Reader.*

his ſonne Francis apprentice to the Maſter of a ſmall bark, which traded into France, and Zealand, where he underwent a hard ſervice; and pains with patience in his youth did knit the joynts of his ſoul, and made them more ſolid and compacted. His Maſter dying unmarried, in reward of his induſtry, bequeath'd his bark unto him for a Legacie.

For ſome time he continued his Maſters profeſsion: But the Narrow Seas were a priſon for ſo large a ſpirit, born for greater undertakings. He ſoon grew weary of his bark, which would ſcarce go alone but as it crept along by the ſhore: wherefore ſelling it, he unfortunately ventured moſt
1567. of his eſtate with Captain John Hawkins into the Weſt Indies, whoſe goods were taken by the Spaniards at S. John de Ulva, and he himſelf ſcarce eſcaped with life. The King of Spain being ſo tender in thoſe parts, that the leaſt touch doth wound him; and ſo jealous of the Weſt Indies, his wife, that willingly he would have none look upon her, and therefore uſed them with the greater ſeverity.

Drake was perſwaded by the Miniſter of his ſhip that he might lawfully recover in value of the King of Spain, and repair his loſſes upon him any where elſe. The Caſe was clear in ſea-divinity, and few are ſuch Infidels, as not to believe doctrines which make for their own profit. Whereupon Drake, though a poore private man, hereafter undertook to revenge himſelf on ſo mighty a Monarch; who, as not contented that the Sun riſeth and ſetteth in his dominions, may ſeem to deſire to make all his own where he ſhineth. And now let us ſee how a dwarf, ſtanding on the Mount of Gods providence, may prove an overmatch for a giant.

After two or three ſeverall Voyages to gain intelligence in the Weſt Indies, and ſome prizes taken, at laſt he effectually ſet forward from Plimouth with two ſhips, the one of ſeventy, the other twenty five tunnes, and ſeventy three men and boyes in both. He made with all ſpeed and

and ſecrecy to Nombre de Dios, as loth to put the Town to too much charge (which he knew they would willingly beſtow) in providing beforehand for his entertainment; which City was then the granary of the Weſt Indies, wherein the golden harveſt brought from Panama was hoarded up till it could be conveyed into Spain. They came hard aboard the ſhore, and lay quiet all night intending to attempt the Town in the dawning of the day.

But he was forced to alter his reſolution, and aſſault it ſooner; for he heard his men muttering amongſt themſelves of the ſtrength and greatneſſe of the Town: and when mens heads are once fly-blown with buzzes of ſuſpicion, the vermine multiply inſtantly, and one jealouſie begets another. Wherefore he raiſed them from their neſt before they had hatch'd their fears, and to put away thoſe conceits, he perſwaded them it was day-dawning when the Moon roſe, and inſtantly ſet on the Town, and wonne it being unwalled. In the Market-place the Spaniards ſaluted them with a volley of ſhot; Drake returned their greeting with a flight of arrows, the beſt and ancient Engliſh complement, which drave their enemies away. Here Drake received a dangerous wound, though he valiantly conceal'd it a long time, knowing if his heart ſtooped, his mens would fall, and loth to leave off the action, wherein if ſo bright an opportunity once ſetteth it ſeldome riſeth again. But at length his men forced him to return to his ſhip, that his wound might be dreſſed, and this unhappy accident defeated the whole deſigne. Thus victory ſometimes ſlips thorow their fingers, who have caught it in their hands.

But his valour would not let him give over the project as long as there was either life or warmth in it: And therefore having received intelligence from the Negroes, called Symerons, of many mules-lading of gold and ſilver, which was to be brought from Panama, he leaving competent numbers to man his ſhips, went on land with the reſt, and beſtowed himſelf in the woods by the way as they were to paſſe, and ſo intercepted and carried away an infinite

maſſe of gold. As for the ſilver which was not portable over the mountains, they digged holes in the ground and hid it therein.

There want not thoſe who love to beat down the price of every honourable action, though they themſelves never mean to be chapmen. Theſe cry up Drakes fortune herein to cry down his valour; as if this his performance were nothing, wherein a golden opportunity ran his head with his long forelock into Drakes hands beyond expectation. But certainly his reſolution and unconquerable patience deſerved much praiſe, to adventure, on ſuch a deſigne, which had in it juſt no more probability then what was enough to keep it from being impoſsible: yet I admire not ſo much at all the treaſure he took, as at the rich and deep mine of Gods providence.

Having now full fraughted himſelf with wealth, and burnt at the Houſe of Croſſes above two hundred thouſand pounds worth of Spaniſh Merchandiſe, he returned with honour and ſafety into England, and ſome * years after undertook that his famous voyage about the world, moſt accurately deſcribed by our Engliſh Authours: and yet a word or two thereof will not be amiſſe.

* 1577. Decemb. 13.

Setting forward from Plimouth, he bore up for Caboverd, where near to the Iland of S. Jago he took priſoner Nuno-da-Silva, an experienc'd Spaniſh pilot, whoſe direction he uſed in the coaſts of Braſil and Magellan ſtraits, and afterwards ſafely landed him at Guatulco in New Spain. Hence they took their courſe to the iland of Brava, and hereabouts they met with thoſe tempeſtous winds, whoſe onely praiſe is, that they continue not an houre, in which time they change * all the points of the compaſſe. Here they had great plenty of rain, poured (not as in other places, as it were out of ſives, but) as out of ſpouts, ſo that a but of water falls down in a place: which notwithſtanding is but a courteous injury in that hot climate farre from land, and where otherwiſe freſh water cannot be provided: then cutting the Line, they ſaw the face of that heaven which earth

* *Manuſc. of Geor. Forteſc. who went the voyage with Sir Francis Drake.*

earth hideth from us, but therein onely three * ſtarres of the firſt greatneſſe, the reſt few and ſmall compared to our Hemiſphere, as if God, on purpoſe, had ſet up the beſt and biggeſt candles in that room wherein his civileſt gueſts are entertained.

* *Camb. Eliz. Anno 1580. p. 323.*

Sayling the South of Braſile, he afterwards paſſed the * Magellan ſtraits, and then entred *Mare pacificum*, came to the Southermoſt land at the height of 55½ latitudes; thence directing his courſe Northward, he pillaged many Spaniſh Towns, and took rich prizes of high value in the kingdomes of Chily, Peru, and New Spain. Then bending Eaſtwards, he coaſted China, and the Moluccoes, where by the King of Terrenate, a true Gentleman Pagan, he was moſt honourably entertain'd: The King told them, They and he were all of one religion in this reſpect, that they believed* not in Gods made of ſtocks and ſtones as did the Portugalls. He furniſh'd them alſo with all neceſſaries that they wanted.

* *Auguſt 20. 1578.*

* *Manuſcri. Geor. Forteſc.*

On the ninth of January following, his ſhip, having a large wind and a ſmooth ſea, ran a ground on a dangerous ſhole, and ſtrook twice on it; knocking twice at the doore of death, which no doubt had opened the third time. Here they * ſtuck from eight a clock at night till foure the next afternoon, having ground too much, and yet too little to land on, and water too much; and yet too little to ſail in. Had God (*who* as the wiſeman ſaith, Prov. 30. 4. *holdeth the winds in his fiſt*) but opened his little finger, and let out the ſmalleſt blaſt, they had undoubtedly been caſt away; but there blew not any wind all the while. Then they conceiving aright that the beſt way to lighten the ſhip, was firſt to eaſe it of the burthen of their ſins by true repentance, humbled themſelves by faſting under the hand of God: Afterwards they received the Communion, dining on Chriſt in the Sacrament, expecting no other then to ſup with him in heaven: Then they caſt out of their ſhip ſix great pieces of ordinance, threw over-board as much wealth as would break the heart of a Miſer to think on't, with much ſuger, and

* 1579.

* *Hacluits voyage, p. 741. 3. vol.*

packs of ſpices, making a caudle of the ſea round about: Then they betook themſelves to their prayers, the beſt lever at ſuch a dead lift indeed, and it pleaſed God that the wind, formerly their mortall enemy, became their friend, which changing from the Starboard to the Larboard of the ſhip, and riſing by degrees, cleared them off to the ſea again, for which they returned unfeigned thanks to almighty God.

By the Cape of good hope and weſt of Africa he returned ſafe into England, and landed at * Plimouth, (being almoſt the firſt of thoſe that made a thorow-light through the world) having in his whole voyage, though a curious ſearcher after the time, loſt one day through the variation of ſeverall Climates. He feaſted the Queen in his ſhip at Dartford, who Knighted him for his ſervice: yet it grieved him not a little, that ſome prime * Courtiers refuſed the gold he offer'd them, as gotten by piracy. Some of them would have been loth to have been told, that they had *Aurum Tholoſanum* in their own purſes. Some think that they did it to ſhew that their envious pride was above their covetouſneſſe, who of ſet purpoſe did blur the fair copy of his performance, becauſe they would not take pains to write after it.

* *Novemb.* 3. 1580.

* *Camb. Eliz. Anno ut priùs, pag.* 127.

1585. I paſſe by his next * Weſt Indian voyage, wherein he took the Cities of S. Jago, S. Domingo, Carthagena, and S. Auguſtine in Florida: as alſo his ſervice performed in 88, wherein he with many others helped to the waining of that half Moon, which ſought to govern all the motion of our Sea. I haſt to his laſt Voyage.

1595. Queen Elizabeth perceiving that the onely way to make the Spaniard a criple for ever, was to cut his Sinews of war in the Weſt Indies, furniſhed Sr Francis Drake, & Sr John Haukins with ſix of her own ſhips, beſides 21 ſhips and Barks of their own providing, containing in all 2500 Men and Boyes, for ſome ſervice on America. But, alas, this voyage was marr'd before begun. For ſo great preparations being too big for a cover, the King of Spain knew of it, and ſent a Caravall of adviſo to the Weſt Indies, ſo that they had intelligence * three weeks

* *Hacluits voyage, 3. vol. pag.* 583.

weeks before the Fleet ſet forth of England, either to fortifie, or remove their treaſure; whereas in other of Drakes Voyages not two of his own men knew whither he went; and managing ſuch a deſigne is like carrying a Mine in warre, if it hath any vent, all is ſpoyled. Beſides, Drake and Hawkins being in joynt Commiſsion hindred each other. The later took himſelf to be inferiour rather in ſucceſſe then skill, and the action was unlike to proſper when neither would follow, and both could not handſomly go abreaſt. It vexed old Hawkins that his counſell was not followed, in preſent ſayling to America, but that they ſpent time in vain in aſſaulting the Canaries; and the grief that his advice was ſlighted (ſay ſome) was the cauſe of his death. Others impute it to the ſorrow he took, for the taking of his Bark called the Francis, which five Spaniſh Frigates had intercepted: But when the ſame heart hath two mortall wounds given it together, 'tis hard to ſay which of them killeth.

Drake continued his courſe for Port-Rico, and riding within the roade, a ſhot from the Caſtle entred the ſteerage of the ſhip, took away the ſtool from under him as he ſate at ſupper, wounded Sr Nicholas Clifford and Brute Brown to death. *Ah dear* * *Brute* (ſaid Drake) *I could grieve for thee, but now is no time for me to let down my ſpirits.* And indeed a Souldiers moſt proper bemoaning a friends death in warre is in revenging it. And ſure, as if grief had made the Engliſh furious, they ſoon after fired five Spaniſh ſhips of two hundred tunnes apiece, in deſpight of the Caſtle.

America is not unfitly reſembled to an Houre-glaſſe, which hath a narrow neck of land (ſuppoſe it the hole where the ſand paſſeth) betwixt the parts thereof, Mexicana and Pervana. Now the Engliſh had a deſigne to march by land over this Iſthmus from Port-Rico to Panama, where the Spaniſh treaſure was laid up. Sr Thomas Baskervile, Generall of the land-forces, undertook the ſervice with ſeven hundred and fifty armed men. They marched through deep wayes, the Spaniards much annoying them with ſhot out of the woods. One fort in the paſſage they aſſaulted in vain,

* *From the mouth of Hen. Drake Eſquire there preſent, my dear and worthy pariſhioner lately deceaſed.*

vain, and heard two others were built to ſtop them, beſides Panama it ſelf. They had ſo much of this breakfaſt, they thought they ſhould ſurfet of a dinner and ſupper of the ſame. No hope of conqueſt, except with cloying the jaws of Death, and thruſting men on the mouth of the Canon. Wherefore fearing to find the Proverb true, That Gold may be bought too dear, they returned to their ſhips. Drake afterwards fired Nombre de Dios, and many other petty Towns (whoſe treaſure the Spaniards had conveyed away) burning the empty casks, when their precious liquour was runne out before, and then prepared for their returning home.

Great was the difference betwixt the Indian cities now from what they were when Drake firſt haunted theſe coaſts: At firſt the Spaniards here were ſafe and ſecure, counting their treaſure ſufficient to defend it ſelf, the remoteneſſe thereof being the greateſt (almoſt onely) reſiſtance, and the fetching of it more then the fighting for it. Whileſt the King of Spain guarded the head and heart of his dominions in Europe, he left his long legs in America open to blows, till finding them to ſmart, being beaten black and blew by the Engliſh, he learned to arm them at laſt, fortifying the moſt important of them to make them impregnable.

Now began S^r^ Francis his diſcontent to feed upon him. He conceived that expectation a mercileſſe uſurer, computing each day ſince his departure exacted an intereſt and return of honour and profit proportionable to his great preparations, and tranſcending his former atchievements. He ſaw that all the good which he had done in this voyage, conſiſted in the evil he had done to the Spaniards afarre off, whereof he could preſent but ſmall viſible fruits in England. Theſe apprehenſions accompanying if not cauſing the diſeaſe of the flux wrought his ſudden * death. And ſickneſſe did not ſo much untie his clothes, as ſorrow did rend at once the robe of his mortality aſunder. He lived by the ſea, died on it, and was buried in it. Thus an ex-tempore performance (ſcarce heard to be begun before we hear it is ended)

* *January* 28. 1595.

ended) comes off with better applauſe, or miſcarries with leſſe diſgrace, then a long ſtudied and openly premeditated action. Beſides, we ſee how great ſpirits, having mounted to the higheſt pitch of performance, afterwards ſtrain and break their credits in ſtriving to go beyond it. Laſtly, God oftentimes leaves the brighteſt men in an eclipſe, to ſhew that they do but borrow their luſtre from his reflection. We will not juſtifie all the actions of any man, though of a tamer profeſsion then a Sea-Captain, in whom civility is often counted preciſeneſſe. For the main, we ſay that this our Captain was a religious man towards God and his houſes (generally ſparing Churches where he came) chaſt in his life, juſt in his dealings, true of his word, and mercifull to thoſe that were under him, hating nothing ſo much as idleneſſe: And therefore leſt his ſoul ſhould ruſt in peace, at ſpare houres he brought freſh water to Plimouth. Carefull he was for poſterity (though men of his profeſsion have as well an ebbe of riot, as a flote of fortune) and providently raiſed a worſhipfull Family of his kinred. In a word, ſhould thoſe that ſpeak againſt him faſt till they fetch their bread where he did his, they would have a good ſtomach to eat it.

Chap. 23.

The good Herald.

HE is a Warden of the temple of Honour. Mutuall neceſsity made mortall enemies agree in theſe Officers; the lungs of Mars himſelf would be burnt to pieces having no reſpiration in a truce. Heralds therefore were invented to proclaim peace or warre, deliver meſſages about ſummons of forts, ranſoming of captives, burying the dead and the like.

He is grave and faithfull in diſcharging the ſervice he is imployed in. The names which Homer gives the Grecian Ceryces, excel- *Maxime* 1

excellently import their virtues in discharging their Office: One was called Asphalio, *such an one as made sure work*; another Eurybates, *cunning and subtle*; a third Theotes, from his piety and godlinesse; a fourth Stentor, from his loud and audible pronouncing of messages. Therefore of every Heathen sacrifice the * tongue was cut out, and given to the Heralds, to shew that liberty of speech in all places was allowed them.

*Sr. Hen. Spelman Glossar. de verbo Herald.

2 *He imbitters not a distastfull message to a forrein Prince by his indiscretion in delivering it.* Commendable was the gravity of Guien King of arms in France, and Thomas Bevolt Clarenceaux of England, sent by their severall Princes to defie Charles the Emperour. For leave demanded and obtained to deliver the message with safe conduct to their persons, they delivered the Emperour the lie in writing, and defying him were sent home safe with rewards. It fared worse with a foolish French Herald, sent from the Count of Orgell to challenge combat with the Count of Cardonna, Admiral of Arragon, where instead of wearing his Coat of Arms the Herald was attired in a long linen garment, painted with some dishonest actions, imputed to the said Count of Cardonna. But Ferdinand King of Arragon caused the Herald to be whipt naked through the streets * of Barcelona, as a punishment of his presumption. Thus his indiscretion remitted him to the nature of an ordinary person, his Armour of proof of publick credence fell off, and he left naked to the stroke of justice, no longer a publick Officer, but a private offender. Passe we now from his use in warre to his imployment in Peace.

*Span. Hist. in the life of Ferdinand.

3 *He is skilfull in the pedigrees and descents of all ancient Gentry.* Otherwise, to be able onely to blazon a Coat doth no more make an Herald, then the reading the titles of Gally-pots makes a Physician. Bring our Herald to a Monument, *ubi jacet epitaphium*, and where the Arms on the Tombe are not onely creast-fallen, but their colours scarce to be discerned, and he will tell whose they be, if any certainty therein can be rescued from the teeth of Time. But how shamefull was the

the ignorance of the French * Heralds ſome fourty years ſince, who at a ſolemn entertainment of Queen Mary of Florence, wife to King Henrie the fourth, did falſly deviſe and blazon both the Arms of Florence, and the Arms of the Daulphin of France, now King thereof.

*Andr. Favin (a Pariſian Advocate) in his Theatre of Honour, book 1. chap. 4. pag. 35.

4 *He carefully preſerveth the memories of extinguiſh'd Families*, of ſuch Zelophehads, who dying left onely daughters. He is more faithfull to many ancient Gentlemen then their own Heirs were, who ſold their lands, and with them (as much as in them lay) their memories, which our Herald carefully treaſureth up.

5 *He reſtoreth many to their own rightfull Arms.* An Heir is a Phenix in a familie, there can be but one of them at the ſame time. Hence comes it often to paſſe, that younger brothers of gentile families live in low wayes, clouded often amongſt the Yeomanry; and yet thoſe under-boughs grow from the ſame root with the top-branches. It may happen afterwards that by induſtry they may advance themſelves to their former luſtre; and good reaſon they ſhould recover their ancient enſignes of honour belonging unto them: For the river Anas in Spain, though running many miles under ground when it comes up again is ſtill the ſame river which it was before. And yet

6 *He curbs their Uſurpation who unjuſtly entitle themſelves to ancient Houſes.* Hierophilus a*Ferrier in Rome pretended himſelf to be nephew to C. Marius, who had ſeven times been Conſul, and carried it in ſo high a ſtrain that many believed him, and ſome companies in Rome accepted him for their Patron. Such want not amongſt us, who in ſpight of the ſtock will engraff themſelves into noble blouds, and thence derive their pedegree. Hence they new mould their names, taking from them, adding to them, melting out all the liquid letters, torturing mutes to make them ſpeak, and making vowels dumbe to bring it to a fallacious Homonomy at the laſt, that their names may be the ſame with thoſe noble Houſes they pretend to. By this trick (to forbear dangerous inſtances, if affinity of ſound makes kinred) Lutu-

* *Valer. Max. lib. 9. cap. 16.*

lentus makes himſelf kinne to Luculentus, dirt to light, and Anguſtus to Auguſtus, ſome narrow-hearted Peaſant, to ſome large-ſpirited Prince, except our good Herald marre their mart, and diſcover their forgery. For well he knows where indeed the names are the ſame (though alter'd through variety of writing in ſeverall ages, and diſguis'd by the liſping of vulgar people, who miſcall hard French Sirnames) and where the equivocation is untruly affected.

7 *He aſsignes honourable Arms to ſuch as raiſe themſelves by deſerts.* In all ages their muſt be as well a beginning of new Gentry, as an ending of ancient. And let not *Linea*, when farre extended in length, grow ſo proud as to ſcorn the firſt *Punctum* which gave it the originall. Our Herald knows alſo to cure the ſurfet of Coats, and unſurcharge them, and how to waſh out ſtained colours, when the merits of Poſterity have outworn the diſgraces of their Anceſtours.

8 *He will not for any profit favour wealthy unworthineſſe.* If a rich Clown (who deſerves that all his ſhield ſhould be the Baſe point) ſhall repair to the Herald-office, as to a drapers ſhop, wherein any Coat may be bought for money, he quickly finds himſelf deceived. No doubt if our Herald gives him a Coat, he gives him alſo a badge with it.

CHAP.

WILLIAM CAMBDEN Clarenciaux *king of* Armes. *He dyed at Westminster Anno Dñi* 1623. *Aged* 74 *yeares.*

W Marshall sculp:

CHAP. 24.

The life of Mr VV. CAMBDEN.

WIlliam Cambden was born *Anno* 1550 in old Baily, in the City of London. His Father, Sampson Cambden, was descended of honest parentage in Staffordshire; but by his Mothers side he was extracted from the worshipfull family of the * Curwens in Cumberland.

He was brought up first in Christ-Church, then in Pauls School in London, and at fifteen years of age went to Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, and thence to * Broadgates Hall,

* A quibus nobis (abſit invidia) genus maternum, *Cambd. Brit. in Cumber.*

* *Ex Parentatione Degorii Wheat.*

where he firſt made thoſe ſhort Latine Graces, which the Servitours ſtill uſe. From hence he was removed, and made ſtudent of Chriſt Church, where he profited to ſuch eminency, that he was preferred to be Maſter of Weſtminſter School, a moſt famous ſeminarie of learning.

For whereas before, of the two grand Schools of England, one ſent all her Foundation-ſcholars to Cambridge, the other all to Oxford, the good Queen (as the Head equally favouring both Breaſts of Learning and Religion) divided her Scholars here betwixt both Univerſities, which were enriched with many hopefull plants ſent from hence, through Cambdens learning, diligence, and clemency. Sure none need pity the beating of that Scholar who would not learn without it under ſo meek a Maſter.

His deſerts call'd him hence to higher employments. The Queen firſt made him Richmond Herald, and then Clarenceaux King of Arms. We reade how Dionyſius firſt King of Sicily turn'd afterwards a Schoolmaſter in his old age. Behold here Dionyſius inverted, one that was a Schoolmaſter in his youth become a King (of Arms) in his riper years, which place none ever did or ſhall diſcharge with more integrity. He was a moſt exact Antiquary, witneſſe his worthy work, which is a comment on three kingdomes; and never was ſo large a text more briefly, ſo dark a text more plainly expounded. Yea what a fair garment hath been made out of the very ſhreds and Remains of that greater Work?

It is moſt worthy obſervation with what diligence he inquired after ancient places, making Hue and Crie after many a City which was run away, and by certain marks and tokens purſuing to find it; as by the ſituation on the *Romane high wayes, by juſt diſtance from other ancient cities, by ſome affinity of name, by tradition of the inhabitants, By Romane coyns digged up, and by ſome appearance of ruines. A broken urn is a whole evidence, or an old gate ſtill ſurviving, out of which the city is run out. Beſides, commonly ſome new ſpruce town, not farre off, is grown out of the aſhes, thereof, which yet hath ſo much naturall affection,

*Watlin } ſtreet
Ermin }

ſection, as dutifully to own thoſe reverend ruines for her Mother.

By theſe and other means he arrived at admirable knowledge, and reſtored Britain to her ſelf. And let none tax him for preſumption in conjectures where the matter was doubtfull; for many probable conjectures have ſtricken the fire, out of which Truths candle hath been lighted afterwards. Beſides, conjectures, like parcells of unknown ore, are ſold but at low rates: if they prove ſome rich metall, the buyer is a great gainer; if baſe, no looſer, for he payes for it accordingly.

His candour and ſweet temper was highly to be commended, gratefully acknowledging thoſe by whom he was aſsiſted in the work (in ſuch a caſe confeſsion puts the difference betwixt ſtealing and borrowing) and ſurely ſo heavy a log needed more levers then one. He honourably mentioneth ſuch as differ from him in opinion; not like thoſe Antiquaries, who are ſo ſnarling one had as good diſſent a mile as an hairs breadth from them.

Moſt of the Engliſh ancient Nobility and Gentry he hath unpartially obſerved. Some indeed object that he*claws and flatters the Grandees of his own age, extolling ſome families rather great then ancient, making them to flow from a farre fountain becauſe they had a great channell, eſpecially if his private friends. But this cavil hath more of malice then truth: indeed 'tis pity he ſhould have a tongue, that hath not a word for a friend on juſt occaſion; and juſtly might the ſtream of his commendations run broader, where meeting with a confluence of deſert and friendſhip in the ſame party. For the main, his pen is ſincere and unpartiall, and they who complain that Grantham ſteeple ſtands awry will not ſet a ſtraiter by it.

* *Hugh Holland in the life of the Earl of Leiceſter.*

Some ſay that in ſilencing many gentile families, he makes baulks of as good ground as any he ploweth up. But theſe again acquit him, when they conſider that it is not onely difficult but impoſsible to anatomize the Engliſh Gentry ſo exactly, as to ſhew where every ſmalleſt vein thereof

runnes. Beſides, many Houſes, conceived to be by him omitted, are rather rightly placed by him, not where they live, but whence they came. Laſtly, we may perceive that he prepared another work on purpoſe for the Engliſh Gentry.

I ſay nothing of his learned Annalls of Queen Elizabeth, induſtriouſly performed. His very enemies (if any) cannot but commend him. Sure he was as farre from loving * Popery, as from hating Learning, though that aſperſion be generall on antiquaries; as if they could not honour hoary hairs, but preſently themſelves muſt doat.

* *Theſe words he wrote in the beginning of his Teſtament*, Chriſti ſolius meritis & ſatisfactione ſpem omnem ſalutis meæ ſemper niti profiteor.

His liberality to Learning is ſufficiently witneſſed in his Founding of an Hiſtory-Profeſſour in Oxford, to which he gave the mannour of Bexly in Kent, worth in preſent a hundred and fourty pounds, but (ſome years expired) foure hundred pounds *per Annum*, ſo that he merited that diſtich,

Eſt tibi pro tumulo, Cambdene, Britannia tota,
Oxonium vivens eſt Epigramma tibi.

The Military part of his office he had no need to imploy, paſsing it moſt under a peaceable Prince. But now having lived many years in honour and eſteem, death at laſt, even contrarie to *Jus Gentium*, kill'd this worthy Herald, ſo that it ſeems, Mortality, the Law of Nature, is above the Law of Arms. He died *Anno* 1623. the ninth of November, in the ſeventie fourth yeare of his age.

Chap. 25.

The true Gentleman.

WE will conſider him in his Birth, Breeding, and Behaviour.

Maxime 1

He is extracted from ancient and worſhipfull parentage. When a Pepin is planted on a Pepin-ſtock, the fruit growing thence is called a * Renate, a moſt delicious apple, as both by Sire and Damme well deſcended. Thus his bloud muſt needs be well purified who is gentilely born on both ſides.

* *Draitons Polio-Albion, p.298.*

If

If his birth be not, at least his qualities are generous. What if he cannot with the Hevenninghams of Suffolk count * five and twenty Knights of his familie, or tell * sixteen Knights succesively with the Tilneys of Norfolk, or with the Nauntons shew where their Ancestours had * seven hundred pound a yeare before or at the conquest; yet he hath endeavoured by his own deserts to ennoble himself. Thus valour makes him sonne to Cæsar, Learning entitles him kinsman to Tully, and Piety reports him nephew to godly Constantine. It graceth a Gentleman of low descent and high desert, when he will own the meanness of his parentage. How ridiculous is it when many men brag, that their families are more ancient then the Moon, which all know are later then the starre which some seventy years since shined in Cassiopea. But if he be generously born, see how his parents breed him. 2

* *Weavers fun. mon. pag.* 854.
**Idem p.*818.
**Idem p.*758.

He is not in his youth possest with the great hopes of his possession. No flatterer reads constantly in his ears a survey of the lands he is to inherit. This hath made many boyes thoughts swell so great they could never be kept in compasse afterwards. Onely his Parents acquaint him that he is the next undoubted Heir to correction, if misbehaving himself; and he finds no more favour from his Schoolmaster then his Schoolmaster finds diligence in him, whose rod respects persons no more then bullets are partiall in a battel. 3

At the University he is so studious as if he intended Learning for his profession. He knows well that cunning is no burthen to carry, as paying neither portage by land, nor poundage by sea. Yea though to have land be a good First, yet to have learning is the surest Second, which may stand to it when the other may chance to be taken away. 4

At the Innes of Court he applyes himself to learn the Laws of the kingdome. Object not, Why should a Gentleman learn law, who if he needeth it may have it for his money, and if he hath never so much of his own, he must but give it away. For what a shame is it for a man of quality to be ignorant of Solon in our Athens, of Lycurgus in our Sparta? Be- 5

ſides, law will help him to keep his own, and beſteed his neighbours. Say not, that there be enough which make this their ſet practice: for ſo there are alſo many maſters of defence by their profeſsion; and ſhall private men therefore learn no skill at their weapons.

As for the Hoſpitality, the Apparrell, the Travelling, the Companie, the Recreations, the Marriage of Gentlemen, they are deſcribed in ſeverall Chapters in the following Book. A word or two of his behaviour in the countrey.

6 *He is courteous and affable to his neighbours.* As the ſword of the beſt tempered mettall is moſt flexible; ſo the truly generous are moſt pliant and courteous in their behaviour to their inferiours.

7 *He delights to ſee himſelf, and his ſervants well mounted*: therefore he loveth good Horſemanſhip. Let never any forrein Rabſhakeh ſend that brave to our Jeruſalem, offering *to lend her* * *two thouſand horſes, if ſhe be able for her part to ſet riders upon them.* We know how Darious got the Perſian Empire from the reſt of his fellow Peeres, by the firſt neighing of his generous ſteed. It were no harm if in ſome needleſſe ſuits of intricate precedencie betwixt equall Gentlemen, the priority were adjudged to him who keeps a ſtable of moſt ſerviceable horſes.

* 2. *Kings* 18. 23.

8 *He furniſheth and prepareth himſelf in peace againſt time of warre.* Leſt it be too late to learn when his skill is to be uſed. He approves himſelf couragious when brought to the triall, as well remembring the cuſtome which is uſed at the Creation of Knights of the Bath, wherein the Kings Maſter-Cook * cometh forth, and preſenteth his great knife to the new-made Knights, admoniſhing them to be faithfull and valiant, otherwiſe he threatens them that that very knife is prepared to cut off their ſpurres.

* *Mr Selden in his titles of Honour, pag.* 820.

9 *If the Commiſsion of the Peace finds him out, he faithfully diſcharges it.* I ſay, Finds him out; for a publick Office is a gueſt which receives the beſt uſage from them who never invited it. And though he declined the Place, the countrey knew to prize his worth, who would be ignorant of his own.

own. He compounds many petty differences betwixt his neighbours, which are easier ended in his own Porch then in Westminster-hall: for many people think, if once they have fetched a warrant from a Justice, they have given earnest to follow the suit, though otherwise the matter be so mean that the next nights sleep would have bound both parties to the peace, and made them as good friends as ever before. Yet

10 *He connives not at the smothering of punishable faults.* He hates that practice, as common as dangerous amongst countrey people, who having received again the goods which were stollen from them, partly out of foolish pity, and partly out of covetousnesse to save charges in prosecuting the law, let the theif escape unpunished. Thus whilest private losses are repaired, the wounds to the Commonwealth (in the breach of the Laws) are left uncured: And thus petty Larceners are encouraged into Felons, and afterwards are hang'd for pounds, because never whipt for pence, who, if they had felt the cord, had never been brought to the halter.

11 *If chosen a Member of Parliament he is willing to do his Countrey service.* If he be no Rhetorician to raise affections, (yea Mercury was a greater speaker then Jupiter himself) he counts it great wisdome to be the good manager of Yea and Nay. The slow pace of his judgement is recompenced by the swift following of his affections, when his judgement is once soundly inform'd. And here we leave him in consultation, wishing him with the rest of his honourable Society all happy successe.

The

The Holy State.

THE THIRD BOOK.
Containing Generall Rules.

CHAP. I.
Of Hoſpitality.

HOſpitality is threefold : for ones familie ; this is of Neceſsity : for ſtrangers ; this is Courteſie : for the poore ; this is Charity. Of the two latter.

To keep a diſorderly houſe is the way to keep neither houſe nor lands. For whileſt they keep the greateſt roaring, their ſtate ſteals away in the greateſt ſilence. Yet when many conſume themſelves with ſecret vices, then Hoſpitality bears the blame : whereas it is not the Meat but the Sauce, not the Supper but the Gaming after it, doth undoe them. *Maxime* 1

Meaſure not thy entertainment of a gueſt by his eſtate, but thine own. Becauſe he is a Lord, forget not that thou art but a Gentleman : otherwiſe if with feaſting him thou breakeſt thy ſelf, he will not cure thy rupture, and (perchance) rather deride then pitie thee. 2

When proviſion (as we ſay) groweth on the ſame, it is miraculouſly multiplied. In Northamptonſhire all the rivers of the County are bred in it, beſides thoſe (Ouſe and Charwell) it lendeth and ſendeth into other ſhires: So the good Houſekeeper hath a fountain of wheat in his field, mutton in his fold 3

fold, &c. both to ſerve himſelf, and ſupply others. The expence of a feaſt will but breath him, which will tire another of the ſame eſtate who buyes all by the penny.

4 *Mean mens palates are beſt pleaſed with fare rather plentifull then various, ſolid then dainty.* Dainties will coſt more, and content leſſe, to thoſe that are not Criticall enough to diſtinguiſh them.

5 *Occaſionall entertainment of men greater then thy ſelf is better then ſolemn inviting them.* Then ſhort warning is thy large excuſe: whereas otherwiſe, if thou doſt not overdo thy eſtate, thou ſhalt underdo his expectation, for thy feaſt will be but his ordinary fare. A King of France was often pleaſed in his hunting wilfully to loſe himſelf, to find the houſe of a private Park-keeper; where going from the School of State-affairs, he was pleaſed to make a play-day to himſelf. He brought ſauce (Hunger) with him, which made courſe meat dainties to his palate. At laſt the Park-keeper took heart, and ſolemnely invited the King to his houſe, who came with all his Court, ſo that all the mans meat was not a morſell for them: *Well* (ſaid the Park-keeper) *I will invite no more Kings*; having learnt the difference between Princes when they pleaſe to put on the viſard of privacie, and when they will appear like themſelves, both in their Perſon and Attendants.

6 *Thoſe are ripe for charitie which are withered by age or impotencie.* Eſpecially if maimed in following their calling; for ſuch are Induſtries Martyrs, at leaſt her Confeſſours. Adde to theſe thoſe that with diligence fight againſt poverty, though neither conquer till death make it a drawn battel. Expect not, but prevent their craving of thee; for God forbid the heavens ſhould never rain till the earth firſt opens her mouth, ſeing ſome grounds will ſooner burn then chap.

7 *The Houſe of correction is the fitteſt Hoſpital for thoſe Cripples, whoſe legs are lame through their own lazineſſe.* Surely King Edward the ſixth was as truly charitable in granting Bridewell for the puniſhment of ſturdy Rogues, as in giving S. Thomas Hoſpitall for the relief of the Poore. I have done with

the

the ſubject, onely I deſire rich men to awaken Hoſpitality, which * one ſaith ſince the yeare 1572 hath in a manner been laid aſleep in the grave of Edward Earl of Darby.

*Cambd. Eliſ. Anno 1573.

CHAP. 2.

Of Jeſting.

HArmleſſe mirth is the beſt cordiall againſt the conſumption of the ſpirits: wherefore Jeſting is not unlawfull if it treſpaſſeth not in Quantity, Quality, or Seaſon.

It is good to make a Jeſt, but not to make a trade of Jeſting. The Earl of Leiceſter, knowing that Queen Elizabeth was much delighted to ſee a Gentleman dance well, brought the Maſter of a dancing-ſchool to dance before her: *Piſh* (ſaid the Queen) *it is his profeſsion, I will not ſee him.* She liked it not where it was a Maſter-quality, but where it attended on other perfections. The ſame may we ſay of Jeſting. Maximeı

Jeſt not with the two-edged * *ſword of Gods Word.* Will nothing pleaſe thee to waſh thy hands in, but the Font? or to drink healths in, but the Church Chalice? And know the whole art is learnt at the firſt admiſsion, & profane Jeſts will come without calling. If in the troubleſome dayes of King Edward the fourth a Citizen in Cheap-ſide was executed as a traitour, for ſaying he would make his ſonne heir to the * Crown, though he onely meant his own houſe, having a Crown for the ſigne; more dangerous it is to wit-wanton it with the Majeſtie of God. Wherefore if without thine intention, and againſt thy will, by chancemedly thou hitteſt Scripture in ordinary diſcourſe, yet fly to the city of refuge, and pray to God to forgive thee. 2

* Μάχαιραν Νʒομον, Heb. 4. 11.

* *Speed in Edward the 4.*

Wanton Jeſts make fools laugh, and wiſe men frown. Seeing we are civilized Engliſh men, let us not be naked Salvages in our talk. Such rotten ſpeeches are worſt in withered age, when men runne after that ſinne in their words which flieth from them in the deed. 3

4 *Let not thy Jeſts like mummie be made of dead mens fleſh.* Abuſe not any that are departed; for to wrong their memories is to robbe their ghoſts of their windingſheets.

5 *Scoff not at the naturall defects of any which are not in their power to amend.* Oh 'tis crueltie to beat a cripple with his own crutches. Neither flout any for his profeſsion if honeſt though poore and painfull. Mock not a Cobler for his black thumbes.

6 *He that relates another mans wicked Jeſt with delight, adopts it to be his own.* Purge them therefore from their poyſon. If the prophaneneſſe may be ſever'd from the wit, it is like a Lamprey, take out the ſtring in the back, it may make good meat: But if the ſtaple conceit conſiſts in prophaneneſſe, then it is a viper, all poyſon, and meddle not with it.

7 *He that will loſe his friend for a Jeſt deſerves to die a begger by the bargain.* Yet ſome think their conceits, like muſtard, not good except they bite. We reade that all thoſe who were born in England, the yeare after the beginning of the great mortality * 1349. wanted their foure Cheeek-teeth. Such let thy Jeſts be, that they may not grind the credit of thy friend, and make not Jeſts ſo long till thou becomeſt one.

* *Tho. Walſingam in eodem anno.*

8 *No time to break Jeſts when the heart-ſtrings are about to be broken.* No more ſhewing of wit when the head is to be cut off. Like that dying man, who, when the Prieſt coming to him to give him extreme unction, asked of him where his feet were, anſwered, *at the end of my legs.* But at ſuch a time Jeſts are an unmannerly *crepitus ingenii*: And let thoſe take heed who end here with Democritus, that they begin not with Heraclitus hereafter.

Chap. 3.
Of Self-prayſing.

Maxime 1 *He whoſe own worth doth ſpeak need not ſpeak his own worth.* Such boaſting ſounds proceed from emptineſſe of deſert: whereas the Conquerours in the Olympian games did

did not put on the Laurells on their own heads, but waited till ſome other did it. Onely Anchorets that want company may crown themſelves with their own commendations.

2 *It ſheweth more wit but no leſſe vanity to commend ones ſelf not in a ſtrait line but by reflection.* Some ſail to the port of their own praiſe by a ſide-wind: as when they diſpraiſe themſelves ſtripping themſelves naked of what is their due, that the modeſty of the beholders may cloth them with it again, or when they flatter another to his face, toſsing the ball to him that he may throw it back again to them; or when they commend that quality, wherein themſelves excell, in another man (though abſent) whom all know far their inferiour in that faculty; or laſtly (to omit other ambuſhes men ſet to ſurpriſe praiſe) when they ſend the children of their own brain to be nurſed by another man, and commend their own works in a third perſon, but if challenged by the company that they were Authours of them themſelves, with their tongues they faintly deny it, and with their faces ſtrongly affirm it.

3 *Self praiſing comes moſt naturally from a man when it comes moſt violently from him in his own defence.* For though modeſty binds a mans tongue to the peace in this point, yet being aſſaulted in his credit he may ſtand upon his guard, and then he doth not ſo much praiſe as purge himſelf. One braved a Gentleman to his face that in skill and valour he came farre behind him; *'Tis true* (ſaid the other) *for when I fought with you, you ran away before me.* In ſuch a caſe, it was well return'd, and without any juſt aſperſion of pride.

4 *He that falls into ſinne is a man; that grieves at it, is a ſaint; that boaſteth of it, is a devil.* Yet ſome glory in their ſhame, counting the ſtains of ſinne the beſt complexion for their ſouls. Theſe men make me believe it may be true what Mandevil writes of the Iſle of Somabarre, in the Eaſt Indies, that all the Nobility thereof brand their faces with a hot iron in token of honour.

5 *He that boaſts of ſinnes never committed is a double devil.* Many brag how many gardens of virginity they have defloured,

who never came near the walls thereof, lying on thoſe with whom they did never lie, and with ſlanderous tongues committing rapes on chaſte womens reputations. Others (who would ſooner creep into a ſcabbard then draw a ſword) boaſt of their robberies, to uſurp the eſteem of valour: Whereas firſt let them be well whipt for their lying, and as they like that, let them come afterward and entitle themſelves to the gallows.

Chap. 4.

Of Travelling.

IT is a good accompliſhment to a man, if firſt the ſtock be well grown whereon Travell is graffed, and theſe rules obſerved Before, In, and After his going abroad.

Maxime 1 *Travell not early before thy judgement be riſen*; leſt thou obſerveſt rather ſhews then ſubſtance, marking alone Pageants, Pictures, beautifull Buildings, &c.

2 *Get the Language (in part) without which key thou ſhalt unlock little of moment.* It is a great advantage to be ones own interpreter. Object not that the French tongue learnt in England muſt be unlearnt again in France; for it is eaſier to adde then begin, and to pronounce then to ſpeak.

3 *Be well ſettled in thine own Religion, leſt, travelling out of England into Spain, thou goeſt out of Gods bleſsing into the warm Sunne.* They that go over maids for their Religion, will be raviſh'd at the ſight of the firſt Popiſh Church they enter into. But if firſt thou be well grounded, their fooleries ſhall rivet thy faith the faſter, and Travell ſhall give thee Confirmation in that Baptiſme thou didſt receive at home.

4 *Know moſt of the rooms of thy native countrey before thou goeſt over the threſhold thereof.* Eſpecially ſeeing England preſents thee with ſo many obſervables. But late Writers lack nothing but age, and home-wonders but diſtance to make them admired. 'Tis a tale what * Joſephus writes of the two pillars

* *Antiqu. Jud. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

pillars ſet up by the ſonnes of Seth in Syria, the one of brick, fire-proof; the other of ſtone, water-free, thereon engraving many heavenly matters to perpetuate learning in defiance of time. But it is truly moralized in our Univerſities, Cambridge (of Brick) and Oxford (of Stone) wherein Learning and Religion are preſerved, and where the worſt Colledge is more ſight-worthy then the beſt Dutch Gymnaſium. Firſt view theſe, and the reſt home-rarities; not like thoſe Engliſh, that can give a better account of Fountain-bleau then Hampton-Court, of the Spaw then Bath, of Anas in Spain then Mole in Surrey.

Travell not beyond the Alps. Mr * Aſcham did thank God that he was but nine dayes in Italie, wherein he ſaw in one citie (Venice) more liberty to ſinne, then in London he ever heard of in nine years. That ſome of our Gentry have gone thither, and returned thence without infection, I more praiſe Gods providence then their adventure. 5

in his preface to his School-maſter.

To travell from the ſunne is uncomfortable. Yet the northern parts with much ice have ſome cryſtall, and want not their remarkables. 6

If thou wilt ſee much in a little, travell the Low countreys. Holland is all Europe in an Amſterdam-print, for Minerva, Mars, and Mercurie, Learning, Warre, and Traffick. 7

Be wiſe in chooſing Objects, diligent in marking, carefull in remembring of them: yet herein men much follow their own humours. One askt a Barber, who never before had been at the Court, what he ſaw there? *Oh* (ſaid he) *the King was excellently well trimm'd!* Thus Merchants moſt mark forrein Havens, Exchanges, and Marts; Souldiers note Forts, Armories, and Magazines; Scholars liſten after Libraries, Diſputations, and Profeſſours; Stateſmen obſerve Courts of juſtice, Counſells, &c. Every one is partiall in his own profeſsion. 8

Labour to diſtill and unite into thy ſelf the ſcatterd perfections of ſeverall Nations. But (as it was ſaid of one, who with more induſtry then judgement frequented a Colledge-Library, and commonly made uſe of the worſt notes he met with in any Authours, *that he weeded the Library*) many weed 9

forrein Countries, bringing home Dutch Drunkenneſſe, Spaniſh Pride, French Wantonneſſe and Italian Atheiſme. As for the good herbs, Dutch Induſtry, Spaniſh Loyalty, French Courteſie, and Italian Frugality, theſe they leave behind them. Others bring home juſt nothing; and becauſe they ſingled not themſelves from their Countreymen, though ſome years beyond Sea, were never out of England.

10 *Continue correſpondency with ſome choice forrein friend after thy return.* As ſome Profeſſour or Secretary, who virtually is the whole Univerſity, or State. 'Tis but a dull Dutch faſhion, their *Albus Amicorum*, to make a dictionary of their friends names: But a ſelected familiar in every Countrey is uſefull, betwixt you there may be a Letter-exchange. Be ſure to return as good wares as thou receiveſt, and acquaint him with the remarkables of thy own Countrey, and he will willingly continue the trade, finding it equally gainfull.

11 *Let diſcourſe rather be eaſily drawn, then willingly flow from thee.* That thou mayeſt not ſeem weak to hold, or deſirous to vent news, but content to gratifie thy friends. Be ſparing in reporting improbable truths, eſpecially to the vulgar, who inſteed of informing their judgements will ſuſpect thy credit. Diſdain their pieviſh pride who rail on their native land (whoſe worſt fault is that it bred ſuch ungratefull fools) and in all their diſcourſes preferre forrein countreys, herein ſhewing themſelves of kinne to the wild Iriſh in loving their Nurſes better then their Mothers.

Chap. 5.

Of Company.

Maxime 1 *Company is one of the greateſt pleaſures of the nature of man.* For the beams of joy are made hotter by reflection, when related to another; and otherwiſe gladneſſe it ſelf muſt grieve for want of one to expreſſe itſelf to.

2 *It is unnaturall for a man to court and hug ſolitarineſſe.* It is obſerved,

ſerved, that the furtheſt Ilands in the world are ſo ſeated that there is none ſo remote but that from ſome ſhore of it another Iland or Continent may be diſcerned: As if hereby Nature invited countreys to a mutuall commerce one with another. Why then ſhould any man affect to environ himſelf with ſo deep and great reſervedneſſe, as not to communicate with the ſocietie of others? And though we pity thoſe who made ſolitarineſſe their refuge in time of perſecution, we muſt condemne ſuch as chuſe it in the Churches proſperity. For well may we count him not well in his wits, who will live alwayes under a buſh, becauſe others in a ſtorm ſhelter themſelves under it.

3 *Yet a deſert is better then a debauch'd companion.* For the wildneſſe of the place is but uncheerfull, whileſt the wildneſſe of bad perſons is alſo infectious. Better therefore ride alone then have a thiefs company. And ſuch is a wicked man, who will rob thee of pretious time, if he doth no more miſchief. The Nazarites who might drink no wine were alſo forbidden (Numb. 6. 3.) to eat grapes, whereof wine is made. We muſt not onely avoid ſinne it ſelf, but alſo the cauſes and occaſions thereof: amongſt which bad company (the limetwigs of the devil) is the chiefeſt, eſpecially, to catch thoſe natures which like the good-fellow planet Mercurie are moſt ſwayed by others.

4 *If thou beeſt caſt into bad company, like Hercules, thou muſt ſleep with thy club in thine hand, and ſtand on thy guard.* I mean if againſt thy will the tempeſt of an unexpected occaſion drives thee amongſt ſuch rocks; then be thou like the river * Dee in Merionethſhire in Wales, which running through Pimble meer remains entire, and mingles not her ſtreams with the waters of the lake. Though with them, be not of them; keep civil communion with them, but ſeparate from their ſinnes. And if againſt thy will thou fall'ſt amongſt wicked men, know to thy comfort thou art ſtill in thy calling, and therefore in Gods keeping, who on thy prayers will preſerve thee.

* *Cambd. Brit. in Merioneth.*

5 *The company he keeps is the comment, by help whereof men ex-*

pound the moſt cloſe and myſticall man; underſtanding him for one of the ſame religion, life, and manners with his aſſociates. And though perchance he be not ſuch an one, 'tis juſt he ſhould be counted ſo for converſing with them. Auguſtus Cæſar came thus to diſcern his two daughters inclinations: for being once at a publick Shew, where much people was preſent, he * obſerved that the grave Senatours talked with Livia, but looſe Youngſters and riotus perſons with Julia.

* *Sueton in Auguſt. Cæſ.*

6 *He that eats cherries with Noblemen ſhall have his eyes ſpirted out with the ſtones.* This outlandiſh Proverb hath in it an Engliſh truth, that they who conſtantly converſe with men farre above their eſtates ſhall reap ſhame and loſſe thereby: If thou payeſt nothing, they will count thee a ſucker, no branch; a wen, no member of their companie: If in payments thou keepeſt pace with them, their long ſtrides will ſoon tire thy ſhort legs. The Bevers in New England, when ſome ten of them together draw a ſtick to the building of their lodging, ſet the * weakeſt Bevers to the lighter end of the log, and the ſtrongeſt take the heavieſt part thereof: whereas men often lay the greateſt burthen on the weakeſt back; and great perſons, to teach meaner men to learn their diſtance, take pleaſure to make them pay for their companie. I except ſuch men, who having ſome excellent qualitie are gratis very welcome to their betters; ſuch a one, though he payes not a penny of the ſhot, ſpends enough in lending them his time and diſcourſe.

* *Wood in his deſcription of New England.*

7 *To affect alwayes to be the beſt of the companie argues a baſe diſpoſition.* Gold alwayes worn in the ſame purſe with ſilver loſes both of the colour and weight; and ſo to converſe alwayes with inferiours degrades a man of his worth. Such there are that love to be the Lords of the companie, whileſt the reſt muſt be their Tenants: as if bound by their leaſe to approve, praiſe, and admire, whatſoever they ſay. Theſe knowing the lowneſſe of their parts love to live with dwarfs, that they may ſeem proper men. To come amongſt their equalls, they count it an abridgement of their freedome,

dome, but to be with their betters, they deem it flat ſlavery.

It is excellent for one to have a Library of Scholars, eſpecially if they be plain to be read. I mean of a communicative nature, whoſe diſcourſes are as full as fluent, and their judgements as right as their tongues ready: ſuch mens talk ſhall be thy Lectures. To conclude, Good company is not onely profitable whileſt a man lives, but ſometimes when he is dead. For he that was buried with the bones of * Eliſha, by a Poſthumous miracle of that Prophet, recovered his life by lodging with ſuch a grave-fellow. 8

*2. Kings 13. 21.

Chap. 6.

Of Apparell.

CLothes are for Neceſsity; warm clothes for Health; cleanly for Decency; laſting for Thrift; and rich for Magnificence. Now there may be a fault in their Number, if too various; Making, if too vain; Matter, if too coſtly; and Mind of the wearer, if he takes pride therein. We come therefore to ſome generall directions.

It's a chargeable vanity to be conſtantly clothed above ones purſe, or place. I ſay Conſtantly; for perchance ſometimes it may be diſpenſed with. A Great man, who himſelf was very plain in apparell, checkt a Gentleman for being over fine: who modeſtly anſwered, *Your Lordſhip hath better clothes at home, and I have worſe.* But ſure no plea can be made when this Luxury is grown to be ordinary. It was an arrogant act of * Hubert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, when King John had given his Courtiers rich Liveries, to Ape the Lion, gave his ſervants the like wherewith the King was not a little offended. But what ſhall we ſay to the riot of our age, wherein (as Peacocks are more gay then the Eagle himſelf) ſubjects are grown braver then their Sovereigne? *Maxime* 1

**Matth. Paris in Joan. Anno* 1201.

'Tis beneath a wiſe man alwayes to wear clothes beneath men of his rank. True, there is a ſtate ſometimes in decent plainneſſe. When a wealthy Lord at a great Solemnity had the plaineſt apparell,

apparell, *O* (ſaid one) *if you had markt it well his ſute had the richeſt pockets.* Yet it argues no wiſdome, in clothes alwayes to ſtoop beneath his condition. When Antiſthenes ſaw Socrates in a torn coat, he ſhewed a hole thereof to the people; *And loe* (quoth he) *through this I ſee Socrates his pride.*

3 *He ſhews a light gravity who loves to be an exception from a generall faſhion.* For the received cuſtome in the place where we live is the moſt competent judge of decency; from which we muſt not appeal to our own opinion. When the French Courtiers mourning for their King * Henrie the ſecond had worn cloth a whole yeare, all ſilks became ſo vile in every mans eyes, that if any was ſeen to wear them, he was preſently accounted a Mechanick or Countrey-fellow.

* *Mont. 1. book, chap. 4.*

4 *It's a folly for one Proteus-like never to appear twice in one ſhape.* Had ſome of our Gallants been with the* Iſraelites in the wilderneſſe, when for fourty years their clothes waxed not old, they would have been vexed, though their clothes were whole, to have been ſo long in one faſhion. Yet here I muſt confeſſe, I underſtand not what is reported of Fulgentius, that he uſed the ſame garment Winter and Summer, and never alter'd his * clothes, *etiam in Sacris peragendis.*

* *Deuterono. 29. 5.*

* *Vincentius. Spec. lib. 20. cap. 105.*

5 *He that is proud of the ruſſling of his ſilks, like a mad man, laughs at the ratling of his fetters.* For indeed, Clothes ought to be our remembrancers of our loſt innocency. Beſides, why ſhould any brag of what's but borrowed? Should the Eſtrige ſnatch off the Gallants feather, the Beaver his hat, the Goat his gloves, the Sheep his ſute, the Silk-worm his ſtockings, and Neat his ſhoes (to ſtrip him no farther then modeſty will give leave) he would be left in a cold condition. And yet 'tis more pardonable to be proud, even of cleanly rags, then (as many are) of affected ſlovenneſſe. The one is proud of a molehill, the other of a dunghill.

To conclude, Sumptuary laws in this land to reduce apparell to a ſet ſtandard of price, and faſhion, according to the ſeverall ſtates of men, have long been wiſh'd, but are little to be hoped for. Some think private mens ſuperfluity is a neceſſary evill in a State, the floting of faſhions affording a ſtanding

ſtanding maintenance to many thouſands which otherwiſe would be at a loſſe for a livelihood, men maintaining more by their pride then by their charitie.

Chap. 7.

Of Building.

HE that alters an old houſe is tied as a tranſlatour to the originall, and is confin'd to the phancie of the firſt builder. Such a man were unwiſe to pluck down good old building, to erect (perchance) worſe new. But thoſe that raiſe a new houſe from the ground are blame-worthy if they make it not handſome, ſeeing to them Method and Confuſion are both at a rate. In building we muſt reſpect Situation, Contrivance, Receipt, Strength, and Beauty. Of Situation.

Maxime 1

Chiefly chooſe a wholeſome aire. For aire is a diſh one feeds on every minute, and therefore it need be good. Wherefore great men (who may build where they pleaſe, as poore men where they can) if herein they preferre their profit above their health, I referre them to their Phyſicians to make them pay for it accordingly.

2

Wood and water are two ſtaple commodities where they may be had. The former I confeſſe hath made ſo much iron, that it muſt now be bought with the more ſilver, and grows daily dearer. But 'tis as well pleaſant as profitable to ſee a houſe caſed with trees, like that of Anchiſes in Troy.

* *Virgil 2. Æneid. 32.*

——* *quanquam ſecreta parentis*
Anchiſæ domus arboribuſq; obtecta receſſit.

The worſt is, where a place is bald of wood, no art can make it a periwig. As for water, begin with Pindars beginning, ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ. The fort of * Gogmagog Hills nigh Cambridge is counted impregnable but for want of water, the miſchief of many houſes where ſervants muſt bring the well on their ſhoulders.

* *Camb. Brit. in Cambridgeſhire.*

3 *Next a pleaſant proſpect is to be reſpected.* A medly view (ſuch as of water and land at Greenwich) beſt entertains the eyes, refreſhing the wearied beholder with exchange of objects. Yet I know a more profitable proſpect, where the owner can onely ſee his own land round about.

4 *A fair entrance with an eaſie aſcent gives a great grace to a building*: where the Hall is a preferment out of the Court, the Parlour out of the Hall; not (as in ſome old buildings) where the doores are ſo low Pygmies muſt ſtoop, and the rooms ſo high that Giants may ſtand upright. But now we are come to Contrivance.

5 *Let not thy common rooms be ſeverall, nor thy ſeverall rooms be common.* The Hall (which is a Pandocheum) ought to lie open, and ſo ought Paſſages and Stairs (provided that the whole houſe be not ſpent in paths) Chambers and Cloſets are to be private and retired.

6 *Light (Gods eldeſt daughter) is a principall beauty in a building:* yet it ſhines not alike from all parts of Heaven. An Eaſt-window welcomes the infant beams of the Sun, before they are of ſtrength to do any harm, and is offenſive to none but a ſluggard. A South-window in ſummer is a chimny with a fire in't, and needs the ſchreen of a curtain. In a Weſt-window in ſummer time towards night, the Sun grows low and over familiar with more light then delight. A North-window is beſt for Butteries and Cellars, where the beere will be ſower for the Suns ſmiling on it. Thorow-lights are beſt for rooms of entertainment, and windows on one ſide for dormitories. As for Receipt.

7 *A houſe had better be too little for a day then too great for a yeare.* And it's eaſier borrowing of thy neighbour a brace of chambers for a night, then a bag of money for a twelvemonth. It is vain therefore to proportion the receipt to an extraordinary occaſion, as thoſe who by overbuilding their houſes have dilapidated their lands, and their ſtates have been preſſ'd to death under the weight of their houſe. As for Strength,

8 *Countrey-houſes muſt be Subſtantives, able to ſtand of themſelves.* Not

8 *Countrey-houſes muſt be Subſtantives, able to ſtand of themſelves.* Not like City-buildings ſupported by their neighbours on either ſide. By Strength we mean ſuch as may reſiſt Weather and Time, not Invaſion, Caſtles being out of date in this peaceable age. As for the making of motes round about, it is queſtionable whether the fogs be not more unhealthfull, then the fiſh brings profit, or the water defence. Beauty remains behind as the laſt to be regarded, becauſe houſes are made to be lived in not lookt on.

9 *Let not the Front look aſquint on a ſtranger, but accoſt him right at his entrance.* Uniformity alſo much pleaſeth the eye; and 'tis obſerved that free-ſtone, like a fair complexion, ſooneſt waxeth old, whileſt brick keeps her beauty longeſt.

10 *Let the office-houſes obſerve the due diſtance from the manſion-houſe.* Thoſe are too familiar which preſume to be of the ſame pile with it. The ſame may be ſaid of ſtables and barns; without which a houſe is like a city without works, it can never hold out long.

11 *Gardens alſo are to attend in their place.* When God (Geneſis 2. 9.) planted a garden Eaſtward, he made to grow out of the ground every tree pleaſant to the ſight, and good for food. Sure he knew better what was proper to a garden then thoſe, who now adayes therein onely feed the eyes, and ſtarve both taſt and ſmell.

To conclude, in Building rather believe any man then an Artificer in his own art for matter of charges, not that they cannot but will not be faithfull. Should they tell thee all the coſt at the firſt, it would blaſt a young Builder in the budding, and therefore they ſooth thee up till it hath coſt thee ſomething to confute them. The ſpirit of Building firſt poſſeſſed people after the floud, which then cauſed the confuſion of languages, and ſince of the eſtate of many a man.

Chap. 8.

Of Anger.

ANger is one of the ſinews of the ſoul; he that wants it hath a maimed mind, and with Jacob ſinew-ſhrunk in the hollow of his thigh muſt needs halt. Nor is it good to converſe with ſuch as cannot be angry, and with the Caſpian ſea never ebbe nor flow. This Anger is either Heavenly, when one is offended for God: or Helliſh, when offended with God and Goodneſſe: or Earthly, in temporall matters. Which Earthly Anger (whereof we we treat) may alſo be Helliſh, if for no cauſe, no great cauſe, too hot, or too long.

Maxime 1 *Be not angry with any without a cauſe.* If thou beeſt, thou muſt not onely, as the Proverb ſaith, be appeaſ'd without amends (having neither coſt nor damage given thee) but, as our Saviour * ſaith, be in danger of the judgement.

* *Matth.*5.22.

2 *Be not mortally angry with any for a veniall fault.* He will make a ſtrange combuſtion in the ſtate of his ſoul, who at the landing of every cockboat ſets the beacons on fire. To be angry for every toy debaſes the worth of thy anger; for he who will be angry for any thing, will be angry for nothing.

3 *Let not thy anger be ſo hot, but that the moſt torrid zone thereof may be habitable.* Fright not people from thy preſence with the terrour of thy intolerable impatience. Some men like a tiled houſe are long before they take fire, but once on flame there is no coming near to quench them.

4 *Take heed of doing irrevocable acts in thy paſsion.* As the revealing of ſecrets, which makes thee a bankrupt for ſociety ever after: neither do ſuch things which done once are done for ever, ſo that no bemoaning can amend them. Sampſons hair grew again, but not his eyes: Time may reſtore ſome loſſes, others are never to be repaird. Wherefore in thy rage make no Perſian decree which cannot be

reverl'd

reverſ'd or repeald ; but rather Polonian laws which (they ſay) laſt but three dayes : Do not in an inſtant what an age cannot recompence.

Anger kept till the next morning, with * *Manna, doth putrifie and corrupt.* Save that Manna corrupted not at all, and anger moſt of all, kept the next Sabbath. S. Paul * ſaith, *Let not the Sunne go down on your wrath* ; to carry news to the Antipodes in another world of thy revengefull nature. Yet let us take the Apoſtles meaning, rather then his words, with all poſsible ſpeed to depoſe our paſsion, not underſtanding him ſo literally that we may take leave to be angry till Sunſet : then might our wrath lengthen with the dayes ; and men in Greenland, where day laſts above a quarter of a yeare, have plentifull ſcope of revenge. And as the Engliſh (by command from William the Conquerer) alwayes raked up their fire, and put out their candles, when the * Curfew-bell was rung ; let us then alſo quench all ſparks of anger and heat of paſsion.

5
* *Exod.* 16. 24.
* *Epheſ.* 4. 26.
* *Cowels Interpreter out of Stows Annals.*

He that keeps anger long in his boſome giveth place to the * *devil.* And why ſhould we make room for him, who will crowd in too faſt of himſelf? Heat of paſsion makes our ſouls to chappe, and the devil creeps in at the cranies ; yea a furious man in his fits may ſeem poſſeſſ'd with a devil, fomes, fumes, tears himſelf, is deaf, and dumbe in effect, to heare or ſpeak reaſon : ſometimes wallows, ſtares, ſtamps, with fiery eyes and flaming cheeks. Had Narciſſus himſelf ſeen his own face when he had been angry, he could never have fallen in love with himſelf.

6
* *Epheſ.* 4. 27.

Chap. 9.

Of Expecting Preferment.

THere are as many ſeverall tenures of Expectation as of Poſſeſsion, ſome nearer, ſome more remote, ſome grounded on ſtrong, others on weaker reaſons. (As for a groundleſſe Expectation, it is a wilfull ſelf-deluſion) We come

to inſtructions how men ſhould manage their hopes herein.

Maxime 1 *Hope not for impoſsibilities.* For though the object of hope be *Futurum poſsibile*, yet ſome are ſo mad as to feed their Expectation on things, though not in themſelves, yet to them impoſsible, if we conſider the weakneſſe of the means whereby they ſeek to attain them. He needs to ſtand on tiptoes that hopes to touch the moon; and thoſe who expect what in reaſon they cannot expect, may expect.

2 *Carefully ſurvey what proportion the means thou haſt bear to the end thou expecteſt.* Count not a Courtiers promiſe of courſe a ſpecialty that he is bound to preferre thee: Seeing Complements oftentimes die in the ſpeaking, why ſhould thy hopes (grounded on them) live longer then the hearing? perchance the text of his promiſe intended but common courteſies, which thy apprehenſion expounds ſpeedy and ſpeciall favours. Others make up the weakneſſe of their means with conceit of the ſtrength of their deſerts, fooliſhly thinking that their own merits will be the undoubted Patrons to preſent them to all void Benefices.

3 *The heir apparent to the next preferment may be diſinherited by an unexpected accident.* A Gentleman, ſervant to the Lord Admirall Howard, was ſuiter to a Lady above his deſerts, grounding the confidence of his ſucceſſe on his relation to ſo honourable a Lord; which Lord gave the Anchor as badge of his office, and therefore this ſuiter wrote in a window,

If I be bold,
The anchor is my hold.

But his corrivall to the ſame Miſtris coming into the ſame room wrote under,

Yet fear the worſt:
What if the Cable burſt?

Thus uſeleſſe is the Ancor of hope (good for nothing but to deceive thoſe that relie on it) if the cable or ſmall cords of means and cauſes whereon it depends fail and miſcarry. Daily experience tenders too many examples. A Gentleman who gave a Baſilisk for his Arms or Creſt promiſed

promiſed to make a young kinſman of his his heir, which kinſman to ingratiate himſelf painted a Baſilisk in his ſtudy, and beneath it theſe verſes,

Falleris aſpectu Baſiliſcum occidere. Plini,
Nam vitæ noſtræ ſpem Baſiliſcus alit.
The Baſilisk's the onely ſtay,
My life preſerving ſtill;
Pliny, thou li'dſt when thou didſt ſay
The Baſilisk doth kill.

But this rich Gentleman dying fruſtrated his expectation, and bequeathed all his eſtate to another, whereupon the Epigram was thus altered,

Certe aluit, ſed ſpe vana, ſpes vana venenum:
Ignoſcas, Plini, verus es Hiſtoricus.
Indeed vain hopes to me he gave,
Whence I my poiſon drew:
Pliny, thy pardon now I crave,
Thy writings are too true.

4 *Proportion thy expences to what thou haſt in poſſeſsion, not to thy expectancies.* Otherwiſe he that feeds on wind muſt needs be griped with the Collick at laſt. And if the Ceremoniall law forbad the Jews to ſeeth a kid in the mothers milk, the law of good husbandry forbids us to eat a kid in the mothers belly, ſpending our pregnant hopes before they be delivered.

5 *Imbrue not thy ſoul in bloudy wiſhes of his death who parts thee and thy preferment.* A murther the more common, becauſe one cannot be arraigned for it on earth. But thoſe are charitable murtherers which wiſh them in heaven, not ſo much that they may have eaſe at their journeys end, but becauſe they muſt needs take death in the way.

6 *In earthly matters expectation takes up more joy on truſt, then the fruition of the thing is able to diſcharge.* The Lion is not ſo fierce as painted; nor are matters ſo fair as the pencill of the expectant limmes them out in his hopes. They forecount their wives fair, fruitfull, and rich, without any fault; their children witty, beautifull, & dutifull, without any frowardneſſe:

and as S. Basil held that roses in paradise before mans fall grew without prickles, they abstract the pleasures of things from the troubles annexed to them, which when they come to enjoy, they must take both together. Surely a good unlook'd for is a virgin happinesse; whereas those who obtain what long they have gazed on in expectation, onely marry what themselves have defloured before.

7 *When our hopes break let our patience hold:* relying on Gods providence without murmuring, who often provides for men above what we can think or desire. When Robert * Holgate could not peaceably enjoy his small living in Lincolneshire, because of the litigiousnesse of a neighbouring Knight, coming to London to right himself he came into the favour of King Henrie the eighth, and got by degrees the Archbishoprick of York. Thus God sometimes defeats our hopes, or disturbs our possession of lesser favours, thereby to bestow on his servants better blessings, if not here, hereafter.

* *Godwin in his Catal. of Archbishops of York.*

Chap. 10.

Of Memory.

IT is the treasure-house of the mind, wherein the monuments thereof are kept and preserved. Plato makes it the mother of the Muses * Aristotle sets it one degree further, making Experience the mother of Arts, Memory the parent of Experience. Philosophers place it in the rere of the head; and it seems the mine of Memory lies there, because there naturally men dig for it, scratching it when they are at a losse. This again is twofold: one, the simple retention of things; the other, a regaining them when forgotten.

* *Metaphys. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

Maxime 1 *Brute creatures equall, if not exceed, men in a bare retentive Memory.* Through how many labyrinths of woods, without other clue of threed then naturall instinct, doth the hunted hare return to her muce? How doth the little bee, flying into

severall

ſeverall meadows and gardens, ſipping of many cups, yet never intoxicated, through an ocean (as I may ſay) of air, ſteddily ſteer her ſelf home, without help of card or compaſſe. But theſe cannot play an aftergame,and recover what they have forgotten, which is done by the mediation of diſcourſe.

2 *Artificiall memory is rather a trick then an art, and more for the gain of the teacher then profit of the learners.* Like the toſsing of a pike, which is no part of the poſtures and motions thereof, and is rather for oſtentation then uſe,to ſhew the ſtrength and nimbleneſſe of the arm, and is often uſed by wandring Souldiers as an introduction to beg. Underſtand it of the artificiall rules which at this day are delivered by Memory-mountebanks; for ſure an art thereof may be made (wherein as yet the world is defective) and that no more deſtructive to naturall Memory then ſpectacles are to eyes, which girls in Holland wear from 12 years of age. But till this be found out, let us obſerve theſe plain rules.

3 *Firſt ſoundly infix in thy mind what thou deſireſt to remember.* What wonder is it if agitation of buſineſſe jog that out of thy head, which was there rather tack'd then faſtned? whereas thoſe notions which get in by *violenta poſſeſsio* will abide there till *ejectio firma*, ſickneſſe or extreme age, diſpoſſeſſe them. It is beſt knocking in the nail overnight, and clinching it the next morning.

4 *Overburthen not thy Memory to make ſo faithfull a ſervant a ſlave.* Remember Atlas was weary. Have as much reaſon as a Camell, to riſe when thou haſt thy full load. Memory, like a purſe, if it be over full that it cannot ſhut, all will drop out of it: Take heed of a gluttonous curioſitie to feed on many things, leſt the greedineſſe of the appetite of thy Memory ſpoyl the digeſtion thereof. Beza's caſe was peculiar and memorable; being above foureſcore years of age he perfectly could ſay by heart any Greek Chapter in * S. Pauls Epiſtles, or any thing elſe which he had learnt long before, but forgot whatſoever was newly told him; his Memory like an inne retaining old gueſts, but having no room to entertain new.

* *Thuan. obit. doct. virorum. pag.* 384.

5

Spoyl not thy Memory with thine own jealouſie, nor make it bad by ſuſpecting it. How canſt thou find that true which thou wilt not truſt? S. Auguſtine tells us of his friend Simplicius, who being ask'd, could tell all Virgills verſes backward and forward, and yet the ſame party, * vowed to God, that he knew not that he could do it till they did try him. Sure there is conceal'd ſtrength in mens Memories, which they take no notice of.

* *Teſtatus eſt Deum, neſciſſe ſe hoc poſſe ante illud experimentum,* Auguſt. Tom. 7. lib. de anima & ejus orig. cap. 7.

6

Marſhall thy notions into a handſome method. One will carrie twice more weight truſt and pack'd up in bundles, then when it lies untowardly flapping and hanging about his ſhoulders. Things orderly fardled up under heads are moſt portable.

7

Adventure not all thy learning in one bottom, but divide it betwixt thy Memory and thy Note-books. He that with Bias carries all his learning about him in his head will utterly be beggerd and bankrupt, if a violent diſeaſe, a mercileſſe thief, ſhould rob and ſtrip him. I know ſome have a Common-place againſt Common-place-books, and yet perchance will privately make uſe of what publickly they declaim againſt. A Common-place-book contains many Notions in gariſon, whence the owner may draw out an army into the field on competent warning.

8

Moderate diet and good aire preſerve Memory; but what aire is beſt I dare not define, when ſuch great ones differ. * Some ſay a pure and ſubtle aire is beſt, another commends a thick and foggy aire. For the * Piſans ſited in the fennes and mariſh of Arnus have excellent memories, as if the foggy aire were a cap for their heads.

* *Plato, Ariſtotle, Tully.*
* Singulari valent memoriâ quo urbs craſſiore fruatur aere, *Mercat. Atlas in Tuſſia.*

9

Thankfulneſſe to God for it continues the Memory: whereas ſome proud people have been viſited with ſuch oblivion, that they have forgotten their own names. Staupitius Tutour to Luther, and a godly man, in a vain oſtentation of his memory repeated Chriſts Genealogie (Matth. 1.) by heart in his Sermon, but being out about the Captivity of Babylon, *I ſee* (ſaith * he) *God reſiſteth the proud*, and ſo betook himſelf to his book. Abuſe not thy Memory to be Sinnes Regiſter,

* *Melchior Adamus in vita Staupitii, pag.* 20.

Regiſter, nor make advantage thereof for wickedneſſe. Excellently * Auguſtine, *Quidam vero peſsimi memoria ſunt mirabili, qui tanto pejores ſunt, quanto minus poſſunt, quæ male cogitant, obliviſci.*

* *De civ. Dei lib. 7. cap. 3. Maxime* 1

Chap. II.

Of Phancie.

IT is an inward Senſe of the ſoul, for a while retaining and examining things brought in thither by the Common ſenſe. It is the moſt boundleſſe and reſtleſſe faculty of the ſoul: for whileſt the Underſtanding and the Will are kept as it were in *Libera Cuſtodia* to their objects of *Verum* & *Bonum*, the Phancie is free from all engagements: it digs without ſpade, ſails without ſhip, flies without wings, builds without charges, fights without bloudſhed, in a moment ſtriding from the centre to the circumference of the world, by a kind of omnipotencie creating and annihilating things in an inſtant; and things divorced in Nature are married in Phancie as in a lawfull place. It is alſo moſt reſtleſſe: whileſt the Senſes are bound, and Reaſon in a manner aſleep, Phancie like a ſentinell walks the round, ever working, never wearied. The chief diſeaſes of the Phancie are, either that they are too wild and highſoaring, or elſe too low and groveling, or elſe too deſultory and overvoluble. Of the firſt.

If thy Phancie be but a little too rank, age it ſelf will correct it. *Maxime* 1
To lift too high is no fault in a young horſe, becauſe with travelling he will mend it for his own eaſe. Thus lofty Phancies in young men will come down of themſelves, and in proceſſe of time the overplus will ſhrink to be but even meaſure. But if this will not do it, then obſerve theſe rules.

Take part alwayes with thy Judgement againſt thy Phancie in any thing wherein they ſhall diſſent. 2
If thou ſuſpecteſt thy conceits to luxuriant, herein account thy ſuſpicion a legall conviction, and damne whatſoever thou doubteſt of. Warily Tullie,

Bene

Bene monent, qui vetant quicquam facere, de quo dubitas, æquum ſit an iniquum.

3 *Take the adviſe of a faithfull friend, and ſubmit thy inventions to his cenſure.* When thou penneſt an oration, let him have the power of *Index expurgatorius*, to expunge what he pleaſeth; and do not thou like a fond mother crie if the child of thy brain be corrected for playing the wanton. Mark the arguments and reaſons of his alterations, why that phraſe leaſt proper, this paſſage more cautius and adviſed, and after a while thou ſhalt perform the place in thine own perſon, and not go out of thy ſelf for a cenſurer. If thy Phancie be too low and humble,

4 *Let thy judgement be King but not Tyrant over it, to condemne harmleſſe yea commendable conceits.* Some for fear their orations ſhould giggle will not let them ſmile. Give it alſo liberty to rove, for it will not be extravagant. There is no danger that weak folks if they walk abroad will ſtraggle farre, as wanting ſtrength.

5 *Acquaint thy ſelf with reading Poets, for there Phancie is in her throne*; and in time the ſparks of the Authours wit will catch hold on the Reader, and inflame him with love, liking, and deſire of imitation. I confeſſe there is more required to teach one to write then to ſee a coppy: however there is a ſecret force of faſcination in reading Poems to raiſe and provoke Phancie. If thy Phancie be over voluble, then

6 *Whip this vagrant home to the firſt object whereon it ſhould be ſeteled.* Indeed nimbleneſſe is the perfection of this faculty, but levity the bane of it. Great is the difference betwixt a ſwift horſe, and a skittiſh, that will ſtand on no ground. Such is the ubiquitary Phancie, which will keep long reſidence on no one ſubject, but is ſo courteous to ſtrangers that it ever welcomes that conceit moſt which comes laſt; and new ſpecies ſupplant the old ones, before ſeriouſly conſidered. If this be the fault of thy Phancie, I ſay whip it home to the firſt object, whereon it ſhould be ſettled. This do as often as occaſion requires, and by degrees the fugitive ſervant will learn to abide by his work without running away.

7 *Acquaint thy ſelf by degrees with hard and knotty ſtudies*, as School-divinity, which will clog thy overnimble Phancie. True, at the firſt it will be as welcome to thee as a priſon, and their very ſolutions will ſeem knots unto thee. But take not too much at once, leſt thy brain turn edge. Taſte it firſt as a potion for Phyſick, and by degrees thou ſhalt drink it as beer for thirſt: Practice will make it pleaſant. Mathematicks are alſo good for this purpoſe: If beginning to try a Concluſion, thou muſt make an end, leſt thou loſeſt thy pains that are paſt, and muſt proceed ſeriouſly and exactly. I meddle not with thoſe Bedlam-phancies, all whoſe conceits are antiques, but leave them for the Phyſician to purge with hellebore.

8 *To clothe low-creeping matter with high-flown language is not fine Phancie, but flat foolerie.* It rather loads then raiſes a Wren, to faſten the feathers of an Eſtridge to her wings. Some mens ſpeeches are like the high mountains in Ireland, having a durty bog in the top of them; the very ridge of them in high words having nothing of worth, but what rather ſtalls then delights the Auditour.

9 *Fine Phancies in manufactures invent engines rather pretty then uſefull*; and commonly one trade is too narrow for them. They are better to project new wayes then to proſecute old, and are rather skilfull in many myſteries then thriving in one. They affect not voluminous inventions, wherein many years muſt conſtantly be ſpent to perfect them, except there be in them variety of pleaſant employment.

10 *Imagination (the work of the Phancie) hath produc'd reall effects.* Many ſerious and ſad examples hereof may be produced: I will onely inſiſt on a merry one. A Gentleman having led a company of children beyond their uſuall journey, they began to be weary, and joyntly cried to him to carry them; which becauſe of their multitude he could not do, but told them he would provide them horſes to ride on. Then cutting little wands out of the hedge as nagges, for them, and a great ſtake as a gelding for himſelf, thus mounted Phancie put mettall into their legs, and they came cheerfully home.

Phancie

11 *Phancie runs moſt furiouſly when a guilty Conſcience drives it.* One that owed much money, and had many Creditours, as he walked London-ſtreets in the evening, a tenterhook catch'd his cloak, *At whoſe ſuit?* ſaid he, conceiving ſome Baliff had arreſted him. Thus guilty Conſciences are afraid where no fear is, and count every creature they meet a Serjeant ſent from God to puniſh them.

Chap. 12.

Of Naturall Fools.

THey have the caſes of men, and little elſe of them beſides ſpeech and laughter. And indeed it may ſeem ſtrange that *Riſibile* being the propertie of man alone, they who have leaſt of man ſhould have moſt thereof, laughing without cauſe or meaſure.

Maxime 1 *Generally Nature hangs out a ſigne of ſimplicity in the face of a Fool*; and there is enough in his countenance for an Hue and Crie to take him on ſuſpicion: or elſe it is ſtamped on the figure of his body; their heads ſometimes ſo little, that there is no room for wit; ſometimes ſo long, that there is no wit for ſo much room.

2 *Yet ſome by their faces may paſſe currant enough till they cry themſelves down by their ſpeaking.* Thus men know the bell is crackt, when they heare it toll'd; yet ſome that have ſtood out the aſſault of two or three queſtions, and have anſwered pretty rationally, have afterwards of their own accord betrayed and yielded themſelves to be fools.

3 *The oathes and railing of Fools is oftentimes no fault of theirs but their teachers.* The Hebrew word *Barac* ſignifies to bleſſe, and to curſe; and 'tis the ſpeakers pleaſure if he uſe it in the worſt acception. Fools of themſelves are equally capable to pray and to ſwear; they therefore have the greateſt ſinne who by their example or otherwiſe teach them ſo to do.

4 *One may get wiſdome by looking on a Fool.* In beholding him, think

think how much thou art beholden to him that ſuffered thee not to be like him: Onely Gods pleaſure put a difference betwixt you. And conſider that a Fool and a Wiſeman are alike both in the ſtartingplace, their birth, and at the poſt, their death; onely they differ in the race of their lives.

5 *It is unnaturall to laugh at a Naturall.* How can the object of thy pity be the ſubject of thy paſtime? I confeſſe ſometimes the ſtrangeneſſe, and, as I may ſay, witty ſimplicity of their actions may extort a ſmile from a ſerious man, who at the ſame time may ſmile at them and ſorrow for them. But it is one thing to laugh at them *in tranſitu*, a ſnap and away, and another to make a ſet meal in jeering them, and as the Philiſtines to ſend for Sampſon to make them ſport.

6 *To make a trade of laughing at a Fool is the highway to become one.* Tullie confeſſeth that whileſt he laughed at one * Hircus a very ridiculous man, *dum illum rideo pene factus ſum ille*: And one telleth us of Gallus Vibius, a man firſt of great eloquence, and afterwards of great madneſſe, which ſeized not on him ſo much by accident as his own affectation, ſo long * mimically imitating mad men that he became one.

* *Epiſt. lib.* 2. *Epiſt.* 9.

* Dum inſanos imitatur, quod aſſimulabat ad vivum redegit, *Rhodiginus Antiq. lib.* 11. *cap.* 13.

7 *Many have been the wiſe ſpeeches of fools, though not ſo many as the fooliſh ſpeeches of wiſe men.* Now the wiſe ſpeeches of theſe ſilly ſouls proceed from one of theſe reaſons: Either becauſe talking much, and ſhooting often, they muſt needs hit the mark ſometimes, though not by aim, by hap: Or elſe becauſe a Fools *mediocriter* is *optime*; Senſe from his mouth, a Sentence; and a tolerable ſpeech cri'd up for an Apothegme: Or laſtly, becauſe God may ſometimes illuminate them, and (eſpecially towards their death) admit them to the poſſeſsion of ſome part of reaſon. A poore begger in Paris being very hungry ſtayed ſo long in a Cooks ſhop, who was diſhing up of meat till his ſtomach was ſatisfied with the onely ſmell thereof. The cholerick covetous Cook demanded of him to

pay for his breakfaſt. The poore man denyed it and the controverſie was referr'd to the deciding of the next man that ſhould paſſe by, which chanced to be the moſt notorious Idiot in the whole City. He on the relation of the matter determined that the poore mans money ſhould be put betwixt two empty diſhes, and the Cook ſhould be recompenced with the gingling of the poore mans money, as he was ſatisfied with the onely ſmell of the Cooks meat. And this is affirmed by * credible Writers, as no fable but an undoubted fact. More waggiſh was that of a rich landed Fool, whom a Courtier had begg'd, and carried about to wait on him. He coming with his maſter to a Gentlemans houſe where the picture of a Fool was wrought in a fair ſuit of arras, cut the picture out with a penknife. And being chidden for ſo doing, *You have more cauſe* (ſaid he) *to thank me, for if my maſter had ſeen the picture of the Fool, he would have begg'd the hangings of the King as he did my lands.* When the ſtanders by comforted a Naturall which lay on his death-bed, and told him that foure proper fellows ſhould carry his body to the Church : *Yea* (quoth he) *but I had rather by half go thither my ſelf*; and then prayed to God at his laſt gaſp not to require more of him then he gave him.

Jo. And. Panor. Barba. & alii indè ad noſtram. Hiero. Franc. in lib. furioſ. de reg. juriſſ. Boer. deciſ. 23. n. 58. Mantic. de conject. ult. v. lib. 2. Tit. 5. n. 8. Corſet. ſing. verbi Teſtamentum.

As for a Changeling, which is not one child changed for another, but one child on a ſudden much changed from it ſelf; and for a Jeſter, which ſome count a neceſſary evil in a Court (an office which none but he that hath wit can perform, and none but he that wants wit will perform) I conceive them not to belong to the preſent ſubject.

CHAP. 13.

Chap. 13.

Of Recreations.

Recreations is a ſecond Creation, when wearineſſe hath almoſt annihilated ones ſpirits. It is the breathing of the ſoul, which otherwiſe would be ſtifled with continuall buſineſſe. We may treſpaſſe in them, if uſing ſuch as are forbidden by the Lawyer as againſt the ſtatutes; Phyſician, as againſt health; Divine, as againſt conſcience.

Be well ſatisfied in thy Conſcience of the lawfulneſſe of the recreation thou uſeſt. Some fight againſt Cockfighting, and bait Bull and Bearbaiting, becauſe man is not to be a common Barretour to ſet the creatures at diſcord; and ſeeing Antipathy betwixt creatures was kindled by mans ſinne, what pleaſure can he take to ſee it burn? Others are of the contrary opinion, and that Chriſtianity gives us a placard to uſe theſe ſports; and that mans Charter of dominion over the creatures enables him to employ them as well for pleaſure as neceſsity. In theſe, as in all other doubtfull recreations, be well aſſured firſt of the legality of them. He that ſinnes againſt his Conſcience ſinnes with a witneſſe. *Maxime* 1

Spill not the morning (the quinteſſence of the day) in recreations. For ſleep it ſelf is a recreation; adde not therefore ſauce to ſauce; and he cannot properly have any title to be refreſh'd, who was not firſt faint. Paſtime, like wine, is poyſon in the morning. It is then good husbandry to ſow the head, which hath lain fallow all night, with ſome ſerious work. Chiefly intrench not on the Lords day to uſe unlawfull ſports; this were to ſpare thine own flock, and to ſheere Gods lambe. 2

Let thy recreations be ingenious, and bear proportion with thine age. If thou ſaiſt with Paul, *When I was a child I did as a child*, ſay alſo with him, *But when I was a man I put away childiſh things*. Wear alſo the childs coat, if thou uſeſt his ſports. 3

4 *Take heed of boiſterous and overviolent exerciſes.* Ringing oftimes hath made good muſick on the bells, and put mens bodies out of tune, ſo that by overheating themſelves they have rung their own paſsing-bell.

5 *Yet the ruder ſort of people ſcarce count any thing a ſport which is not loud and violent.* The Muſcovite women eſteem none loving husbands except they beat their wives. 'Tis no paſtime with country Clowns that cracks not pates, breaks not ſhins, bruiſes not limbes, tumbles and toſſes not all the body. They think themſelves not warm in their geeres, till they are all on fire; and count it but dry ſport, till they ſwim in their own ſweat. Yet I conceive the Phyſicians rule in exerciſes, *Ad ruborem* but *non ad ſudorem*, is too ſcant meaſure.

6 *Refreſh that part of thy ſelf which is moſt wearied.* If thy life be ſedentary, exerciſe thy body; if ſtirring and active, recreate thy mind. But take heed of couſening thy mind, in ſetting it to do a double task under pretence of giving it a play-day, as in the labyrinth of Cheſſe, and other tedious and ſtudious Games.

7 *Yet recreations diſtaſtfull to ſome diſpoſitions relliſh beſt to others.* Fiſhing with an angle is to ſome rather a torture then a pleaſure, to ſtand an houre as mute as the fiſh they mean to take: yet herewithall * Doctour Whitaker was much delighted. When ſome Noblemen had gotten William Cecill Lord Burleigh and Treaſurer of England to ride with them a hunting, and the ſport began to be cold; What call you this, ſaid the Treaſurer? Oh now ſaid they the dogs are at a fault. Yea quoth the Treaſurer, take me again in ſuch a fault, and Ile give you leave to puniſh me. Thus as ſoon may he ſame meat pleaſe all palats, as the ſame ſport ſuit with all diſpoſitions.

* *In his life writ by Mr. Aſhton.*

8 *Running, Leaping, and Dancing, the deſcants on the plain ſong of walking, are all excellent exerciſes.* And yet thoſe are the beſt recreations which beſides refreſhing enable, at leaſt diſpoſe, men to ſome other good ends. Bowling teaches mens hands and eyes Mathematicks, and the rules of Proportion:

Swimming

Swimming hath ſav'd many a mans life, when himſelf hath been both the wares, and the ſhip: Tilting and Fencing is warre without anger; and manly ſports are the Grammer of Military performance.

But above all Shooting is a noble recreation, and an half Liberall art. A rich man told a poore man that he walked to get a ſtomach for his meat: *And I,* ſaid the poore man, *walk to get meat for my ſtomach.* Now Shooting would have fitted both their turns; it provides food when men are hungry, and helps digeſtion when they are full. King Edward the ſixth (though he drew no ſtrong bow) ſhot very well, and when once John Dudley Duke of Northumberland commended him for hitting the mark; *You ſhot better* (quoth the King) *when you ſhot off my good uncle Protectours head.* But our age ſees his Succeſſour exceeding him in that art, whoſe eye like his judgement is clear and quick to diſcover the mark, and his hands as juſt in Shooting as in dealing aright. 9

Some ſports being granted to be lawfull, more propend to be ill then well uſed. Such I count Stage-playes, when made alwayes the Actours work, and often the Spectatours recreation. *Zeuxis the curious picturer painted a boy holding a diſh full of grapes in his hand, done ſo lively that the birds being deceived flew to peck the grapes. But Zeuxis in an ingenious choller was angry with his own workmanſhip. *Had I* (ſaid he) *made the boy as lively as the grapes the birds would have been afraid to touch them.* Thus two things are ſet forth to us in Stageplayes: ſome grave ſentences, prudent counſells, and puniſhment of vitious examples; and with theſe deſperate oathes, luſtfull talk, and riotous acts are ſo perſonated to the life, that wantons are tickled with delight, and feed their palats upon them. It ſeems the goodneſſe is not portrayed out with equall accents of livelineſſe as the wicked things are: otherwiſe men would be deterr'd from vitious courſes, with ſeeing the wofull ſucceſſe which follows them. But the main is, wanton ſpeeches on ſtages are the devils ordinance to beget badneſſe; but I queſtion whether the pious ſpeeches ſpoken there be Gods ordinance to in- 10

* *Plin. nat. Hiſt. lib. 35. cap. 10.*

creaſe goodneſſe, as wanting both his inſtitution and benediction.

11 *Choak not thy ſoul with immoderate pouring in the cordiall of pleaſures.* The Creation laſted but ſix dayes of the firſt week: Prophane they whoſe Recreation laſts ſeven dayes every week. Rather abbridge thy ſelf of thy lawfull liberty herein; it being a wary rule which S. *Gregory gives us, *Solus in illicitis non cadit, qui ſe aliquando & à licitis caute reſtringit.* And then Recreations ſhall both ſtrengthen labour, and ſweeten reſt, and we may expect Gods bleſsing and protection on us in following them, as well as in doing our work: For he that ſaith grace for his meat, in it prayes alſo to God to bleſſe the ſauce unto him. As for thoſe that will not take lawfull pleaſure, I am afraid they will take unlawfull pleaſure, and by lacing themſelves too hard grow awry on one ſide.

*Lib. 5. moral. & Homil. 35. ſupra Evang.

Chap. 14.

Of Tombes.

TOmbes are the clothes of the dead: a Grave is but a plain ſuit, and a rich Monument is one embroyder'd. Moſt moderate men have been carefull for the decent interment of their corps. Few of the fond mind of Arbogaſtus an Iriſh Saint, and Biſhop of Spires in Germany, who would be buried near the *Gallows in imitation of our Saviour. whoſe grave was in mount Calvary near the place of execution.

* *Warræus de Scriptor. Hiber. pag. 26.*

Maxime 1 *'Tis a provident way to make ones Tombe in ones life-time*; both hereby to prevent the negligence of heirs, and to mind him of his mortality. * Virgil tell us that when bees ſwarm in the aire, and two armies meeting together, fight as it were a ſet battel with great violence, caſt but a little duſt upon them and they will be quiet,

Georgic. lib. 4.

Hi motus animorum, atqne hæc certamina tanta
Pulveris exigui jactu compreſſa quieſcunt.
Theſe ſtirrings of their minds and ſtrivings vaſt,
If but a little duſt on them be caſt,
Are ſtraitwayes ſtinted, and quite overpaſt.

Thus the moſt ambitious motions and thoughts of mans mind are quickly quell'd when dūſt is thrown on him, whereof his fore-prepared Sepulchre is an excellent remembrancer. 2

Yet ſome ſeem to have built their Tombes, therein to bury their thoughts of dying, never thinking thereof, but embracing the world with greater greedineſſe. A Gentleman made choice of a fair ſtone, and intending the ſame for his Grave-ſtone, cauſed it to be pitched up in a field a pretty diſtance from his houſe, and uſed often to ſhoot at it for his exerciſe. *Yea but* (ſaid a wag that ſtood by) *you would be loath Sir to hit the mark*: And ſo are many unwilling to die who notwithſtanding have erected their Monuments. 3

Tombes ought in ſome ſort to be proportioned not to the wealth but deſerts of the party interred. Yet may we ſee ſome rich man of mean worth loaden under a tombe big enough for a Prince to bear. There were Officers appointed in the * Grecian Games, who alwayes by publick authority did pluck down the Statues erected to the Victours, if they exceeded the true ſymmetrie and proportion of their bodies. We need ſuch nowadayes to order Monuments to mens merits, chiefly to reform ſuch depopulating Tombes as have no good fellowſhip with them, but engroſſe all the room, leaving neither ſeats for the living, nor graves for the dead. It was a wiſe and thrifty law which *Reutha King of Scotland made, That Noblemen ſhould have ſo many pillars, or long pointed ſtones ſet on their ſepulchres, as they had ſlain enemies in the warres. If this order were alſo enlarged to thoſe who in peace had excellently deſerved of the Church or Common-wealth, it might well be revived. 4

* *Lucian. περὶ εἰκόνων.*

* *Hector Boeth in the life of King Reutha.*

Overcoſtly Tombes are onely baits for Sacriledge. Thus Sacriledge hath beheaded that peereleſſe Prince King Henrie the

fifth, the body of whoſe Statue on his Tombe in Weſtminſter was covered over with ſilver plate guilded, and his head of * maſſy ſilver; both which now are ſtollen away: Yea hungry palats will feed on courſer meat. I had rather * Mr Stow then I ſhould tell you of a Nobleman who ſold the monuments of Noblemen, in S. Auguſtines Church in Broadſtreet, for an hundred pound, which coſt many thouſands, and in the place thereof made fair ſtabling for horſes; as if Chriſt who was born in a ſtable ſhould be brought into it the ſecond time. It was not without cauſe in the Civill Law that a wife might be divorc'd, from her husband, if ſhe could prove him to be one that had * broken the Sepulchres of the dead: For it was preſum'd he muſt needs be a tyrannicall husband to his wife, who had not ſo much mercy as to ſpare the aſhes of the departed.

* *J. Speed in the end of Henry the 5.*
* *In the deſcript. of London, Broadſtreet-ward, pag.* 184.

* Si nimirum ſepulchrorum diſſolutorem eſſe probaverit, *Kirkman. de funer. Roman. lib. 2. c. 26. ex cod. de repudiis.*

The ſhorteſt, plaineſt, and trueſt Epitaphs are beſt. I ſay, the Shorteſt; for when a Paſſenger ſees a Chronicle written on a Tombe, he takes it on truſt, ſome Great man lies there buried, without taking pains to examine who he is. Mr Cambden in his Remains preſents us with examples of Great men that had little * Epitaphs. And when once I ask'd a witty Gentleman, an honoured friend of mine, what Epitaph was fitteſt to be written on Mr Cambdens Tombe. Let it be, ſaid he,

* *as*, Fui Caius. Scaligeri quod reliquum eſt. Depoſitum Cardinalis Poli, *&c.*

CAMBDENS REMAINS.

I ſay alſo the Plaineſt; for except the ſenſe lie above ground, few will trouble themſelves to dig for't. Laſtly, it muſt be True: Not as in ſome Monuments, where the red veins in the marble may ſeem to bluſh at the falſhoods written on it. He was a witty man that firſt taught a ſtone to ſpeak, but he was a wicked man that taught it firſt to lie.

5

6 *To want a Grave is the cruelty of the living, not the miſery of the dead.* An Engliſh Gentleman not long ſince did lie on his death-bed in Spain, and the Jeſuites did flock about him to pervert him to their Religion. All was in vain. Their laſt argument was, If you will not turn Romane Catholick, then your body ſhall be unburied. *Then* (anſwered he) *I'le ſtink*, and

and ſo turned his head and dyed. Thus love, if not to the dead, to the living will make him, if not a grave, a hole: and it was the Beggers Epitaph,

Nudus eram vivus, mortuus ecce tegor.
Naked I liv'd, but being dead,
Now behold I'm covered.

A good Memory is the beſt Monument. Others are ſubject to Caſualty and Time, and we know that the Pyramids themſelves doting with age have forgotten the names of their Founders. To conclude, Let us be carefull to provide reſt for our ſouls, and our bodies will provide reſt for themſelves. And let us not be herein like unto Gentlewomen, which care not to keep the inſide of the orenge, but candy and preſerve onely the outſide thereof. 7

Chap. 15.

Of Deformitie.

Deformitie is either Naturall, Voluntary, or Adventitious, being either cauſed by Gods unſeen Providence (by men nicknamed, Chance) or by mans Cruelty. We will take them in order.

If thou beeſt not ſo handſome as thou wouldeſt have been thank God thou art no more unhandſome then thou art. 'Tis his mercie thou art not the mark for paſſengers fingers to point at, an Heteroclite in Nature, with ſome member defective or redundant. Be glad that thy clay-cottage hath all the neceſſary rooms thereto belonging, though the outſide be not ſo fairly playſtered as ſome others. *Maxime* 1

Yet is it lawfull and commendable by Art to correct the defects and deformities of Nature. Ericthonius being a goodly man from the girdle upwards, but, as the Poets feigne, having downwards the body of a * Serpent (moralice him to have had ſome defect in his feet) firſt invented charets, wherein he ſo ſate that the upper parts of him might be ſeen, and the reſt of 2

* *Servius in illud Virgilii lib. 3. Georg.* Primus Ericthonius, &c.

of his body concealed. Little heed is to be given to his * lying pen, who maketh Anna Bollen, Mother to Queen Elizabeth, the first finder out and wearer of Ruffes, to cover a wen she had in her neck. Yet the matter's not much, such an addition of Art being without any fraud or deceit.

* *Sanders de schism. Anglic. lib. 1. pag. 17.*

3 *Mock not at those who are misshapen by Nature.* There is the same reason of the poore and of the deformed; he that despiseth them despiseth God that made them. A poore man is a picture of Gods own making, but set in a plain frame, not guilded: a deformed man is also his workmanship, but not drawn with even lines and lively colours: The former, not for want of wealth, as the latter not for want of skill, but both for the pleasure of the maker. As for * Aristotle, who would have parents expose their deformed children to the wide world without caring for them, his opinion herein, not onely deform'd but most monstrous, deserves rather to be exposed to the scorn and contempt of all men.

* *Lib. 7. Polit. cap. 16.*

4 *Some people handsome by Nature have wilfully deformed themselves.* Such as wear Bacchus his colours in their faces, arising not from having, but being, bad livers. When the woman (the first of Kings, the 3. and 21.) considered the child that was laid by her, *Behold*, said she, *it was not my sonne which I did bear.* Should God survey the faces of many men and women, he would not own and acknowledge them for those which he created: many are so altered in colour, and some in sex, women to men, and men to women in their monstrous fashions, so that they who behold them cannot by the evidence of their apparell give up their verdict of what sex they are. It is most safe to call the users of these hermaphroditicall fashions, Franciscs, and Philips, names agreeing to both sexes.

5 *Confessours which wear the badges of truth are thereby made the more beautifull*; though deformed in time of Persecution for Christs sake through mens malice. This made Constantine the Great to * kisse the hole in the face of Paphnutius, out of which the Tyrant Maximinus had bored his eye for the profession of the faith, the good Emperour making much of the

* *Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 4.*

the ſocket even when the candle was put out. Next theſe, wounds in warre are moſt honourable: Halting is the ſtatelieſt march of a Souldier; and 'tis a brave ſight to ſee the fleſh of an Ancient as torn as his Colours. He that mocks at the marks of valour in a Souldiers face, is likely to live to have the brands of juſtice on his own ſhoulders.

6 *Nature oftentimes recompenceth deform'd bodies with excellent wits.* Witneſſe Æſop, then whoſe Fables children cannot reade an eaſier, nor men a wiſer book; for all latter Moralliſts do but write comments upon them. Many jeering wits who have thought to have rid at their eaſe on the bowed backs of ſome Cripples, have by their unhappy anſwers been unhorſ'd and thrown flat on their own backs. A jeering Gentleman commended a Begger who was deformed and little better then blind for having an excellent eye, *True* (ſaid the Begger) *for I can diſcern an honeſt man from ſuch a knave as you are.*

7 *Their ſouls have been the Chappells of ſanctity; whoſe bodies have been the Spitolls of deformity.* An * Emperour of Germany coming by chance on a Sunday into a Church, found there a moſt misſhapen Prieſt, *pene portentum Naturæ*, inſomuch as the Emperour ſcorn'd and contemn'd him. But when he heard him reade thoſe words in the Service, *For it is he that made us and not we our ſelves*, the Emperour check'd his own proud thoughts, and made inquiry into the quality and condition of the man, and finding him on examination to to be moſt learned and devout, he made him Archbiſhop of Colen, which place he did excellently diſcharge.

* *Guliel. Malm. lib. 2. cap. 10.*

Chap. 16.

Of Plantations.

PLantations make mankind broader, as Generation makes it thicker. To advance an happy Plantation the Undertakers, Planters, and Place it ſelf muſt contribute their endeavours.

Let

Maxime 1 *Let the prime Undertakers be men of no ſhallow heads, nor narnarrow fortunes.* Such as have a reall Eſtate, ſo that if defeated in their adventure abroad, they may have a retreating place at home, and ſuch as will be contented with their preſent loſſe to be benefactours to poſterity. But if the Prince himſelf be pleaſed not one to wink at them with his permiſsion, but alſo to ſmile on them with his encouragement, there is great hope of ſucceſſe: for then he will grant them ſome immunities and priviledges. Otherwiſe (Infants muſt be ſwathed not laced) young Plantations will never grow, if ſtraitned with as hard Laws as ſettled Common-wealths.

2 *Let the Planters be honeſt, skilfull, and painfull people.* For if they be ſuch as leap thither from the gallows, can any hope for cream out of ſcumme? when men ſend (as I may ſay) Chriſtian Savages to Heathen Savages. It was rather bitterly then falſely ſpoken concerning one of our Weſtern Plantations (conſiſting moſt of diſſolute people) *That it was very like unto England, as being ſpit out of the very mouth of it.* Nor muſt the Planters be onely honeſt but induſtrious alſo. What hope is there that they who were drones at home will be bees abroad, eſpecially if farre off from any to overſee them.

3 *Let the place be naturaily ſtrong, or at leaſtwiſe capable of fortification.* For though at the firſt Planters are ſufficiently fenced with their own povertie, and though at the beginning their worſt enemies will ſpare them out of pity to themſelves, their ſpoyl not countervailing the coſt of ſpoyling them; yet when once they have gotten wealth, they muſt get ſtrength to defend it. Here know Ilands are eaſily ſhut, whereas Continents have their doores ever open, not to be bolted without great charges. Beſides, unadviſed are thoſe Planters, who having choice of ground, have built their Towns in places of a ſervile nature, as being overawed and conſtantly commanded by ſome hills about them.

4 *Let it have a Self-ſufficiency, or ſome Staple commoditie to ballance traffique with other countreys.* As for a Self-ſufficiencie few conntreys can ſtand alone, and ſuch as can for matter of want,

want, will for wantonneſſe lean on others. Staple commodities are ſuch as are never out of faſhion, as belonging to a mans Being, Being with comfort, Being with delight, the Luxury of our age having made ſuperfluities neceſſary. And ſuch a place will thrive the better, when men may ſay with Iſaac, * *Rehoboth, Now the Lord hath made room for us*, when new Colonies come not in with extirpation of the Natives; for this is rather a Supplanting then a Planting. * Gen. 26.22.

Let the Planters labour to be loved and feard of the Natives. With whom let them uſe all juſt bargaining, being as naked in their dealings with them as the other in their going, keeping all covenants, performing all promiſes with them: Let them embrace all occaſions to convert them, knowing that each Convert is a conqueſt; and it is more honour to overcome Paganiſme in one, then to conquer a thouſand Pagans. As for the inſcription of a Deity in their hearts it need not be new written, but onely new ſcowred in them. I am confident that America (though the youngeſt ſiſter of the foure) is now grown marriageable, and daily hopes to get Chriſt to her husband, by the Preaching of the Goſpel. This makes me attentively to liſten after ſome Proteſtants firſt-fruits, in hope the harveſt will ripen afterwards. 5

Chap. 17.

Of Contentment.

IT is one property which (they ſay) is required of thoſe who ſeek for the Philoſophers ſtone, that they muſt not do it with any covetous deſire to be rich; for otherwiſe they ſhall never find it. But moſt true it is that whoſoever would have this jewell of Contentment (which turns all into Gold, yea Want into Wealth) muſt come with minds deveſted of all ambitious and covetous thoughts, elſe are they

never likely to obtain it. We will deſcribe Contentment firſt negatively :

Maxime 1 *It is not a ſenſeleſſe ſtupidity what becomes of our outward eſtates.* God would have us take notice of all accidents which from him happen to us in worldly matters. Had the Martyrs had the dead palſie before they went to the ſtake to be burnt, their ſuffrings had not been ſo glorious.

2 *It is not a word-braving, or ſcorning of all wealth in diſcourſe.* Generally thoſe who boaſt moſt of Contentment have leaſt of it. Their very boaſting ſhews that they want ſomething, and baſely beg it, namely Commendation. Theſe in their language are like unto kites in their flying, which mount in the aire ſo ſcornfully, as if they diſdaind to ſtoop for the whole earth, fetching about many ſtately circuits : but what is the Spirit theſe conjurers with ſo many circles intend to raiſe ? a poore chicken, or perchance a piece of carrion : And ſo the height of the others proud boaſting will humble it ſelf for a little baſe gain.

3 *But it is an humble and willing ſubmitting our ſelves to Gods pleaſure in all conditions.* One obſerveth (how truly I diſpute not) that the French naturally have ſo elegant and gracefull a carriage, that what poſture of body ſoever in their ſalutations, or what faſhion of attire ſoever they are pleaſed to take on them it doth ſo beſeem them, that one would think nothing can become them better. Thus Contentment makes men carry themſelves gracefully in wealth, want, in health, ſickneſſe, freedome, fetters, yea what condition ſoever God allots them.

4 *It is no breach of Contentment for men to complain that their ſuffrings are unjuſt, as offered by men* : provided they allow them for juſt, as proceeding from God, who uſeth wicked mens injuſtice to correct his children. But let us take heed that we bite not ſo high at the handle of the rod, as to faſten on his hand that holds it ; our diſcontentments mounting ſo high as to quarrell with God himſelf.

5 *It is no breach of Contentment for men by lawfull means to ſeek the removall of their miſerie, and bettering of their eſtate.* Thus men

men ought by induſtrie to endeavour the getting of more wealth, ever ſubmitting themſelves to Gods will. A lazy hand is no argument of a Contented heart. Indeed he that is idle, and followeth after vain perſons ſhall have enough, but how? Prov. 28. 19. *Shall have poverty enough.*

Gods Spirit is the beſt Schoolmaſter to teach Contentment: A Schoolmaſter who can make good Scholars, and warrant the ſucceſſe as well as his endeavour. The School of Sanctified afflictions is the beſt place to learn Contentment in: I ſay, Sanctified; for naturally, like reſty horſes, we go the worſe for the beating, if God bleſſe not afflictions unto us. 6

Contentment conſiſteth not in adding more fuell, but in taking away ſome fire: not in multiplying of wealth, but in ſubſtracting mens deſires. Worldly riches, like nuts, teare many clothes in getting them, ſpoil many teeth in cracking them, but fill no belly with eating them, obſtructing onely the ſtomach with toughnes, and filling the guts with windineſſe: Yea our ſouls may ſooner ſurfet then be ſatisfied with earthly things. He that at firſt thought ten thouſand pound too much for any one man, will afterwards think ten millions too little for himſelf. 7

Men create more diſcontents to themſelves, then ever happened to them for others. We reade of our Saviour that at the buriall of Lazarus, John 11. 33. Ἐταράξεν ἑαυτὸν, *He troubled himſelf*, by his ſpirit raiſing his own paſsions, though without any ataxie or ſinfull diſturbance. What was an act of power in him, is an act of weakneſſe in other men: *Man diſquieteth himſelf in vain*, with many cauſeleſſe and needleſſe afflictions. 8

Pious meditations much advantage Contentment in adverſitie. Such as theſe are, to conſider firſt, that more are beneath us then above us; ſecondly, many of Gods dear Saints have been in the ſame condition; thirdly, we want rather ſuperfluities then neceſsities; fourthly, the more we have the more we muſt account for; fifthly, earthly bleſsings through mans corruption are more prone to be abuſed then well 9

uſed. In ſome fenny places in England, where they are much troubled with gnats, they uſe to hang up dung in the midſt of the room for a bait for the gnats to flie to, and ſo catch them with a net provided for the purpoſe. Thus the devil enſnareth the ſouls of many men by illuring them with the muck and dung of this world, to undo them eternally; ſixthly, we muſt leave all earthly wealth at our death, *and riches avail not in the day of Wrath.* But as ſome uſe to fill up the ſtamp of light gold with dirt, thereby to make it weigh the heavier; ſo it ſeems ſome men load their ſouls with thick clay, to make them paſſe the better in Gods ballance, but all to no purpoſe; ſeventhly, the leſſe we have, the leſſe it will grieve us to leave this world; laſtly, it is the will of God, and therefore both for his glory and our good, whereof we ought to be aſſured. I have heard how a Gentleman travelling in a miſty morning ask'd of a Shepherd (ſuch men being generally skill'd in the Phyſiognomie of the Heavens) what weather it would be? *It will be*, ſaid the Shepherd, *what Weather ſhall pleaſe me*: and being courteouſly requeſted to expreſſe his meaning, *Sir* (ſaith he) *It ſhall be what Weather pleaſeth God, and What Weather pleaſeth God, pleaſeth me.* Thus Contentment maketh men to have even what they think fitting themſelves, becauſe ſubmitting to Gods will and pleaſure.

To conclude, A man ought to be like unto a cunning Actour, who if he be enjoyned to repreſent the perſon of ſome Prince or Nobleman, does it with a grace and comlineſſe; if by and by he be commanded to lay that aſide, and play the Begger, he does that as willingly and as well. But as it happened in a Tragedy (to ſpare naming the Perſon and Place) that one being to act Theſeus, in *Hercules Furens*, coming out of Hell, could not for a long time be perſwaded to wear old ſooty clothes proper to his part, but would needs come out of Hell in a white Satin doublet: ſo we are generally loth, and it goes againſt fleſh and blood, to live in a low and poore eſtate, but would

fain

fain act in richer and handſomer clothes, till Grace, with much adoe, ſubdues our rebellious ſtomachs to Gods will.

Chap. 18.

Of Books.

SOlomon ſaith truly, *Of making many Books there is no end*, ſo inſatiable is the thirſt of men therein: as alſo endleſſe is the deſire of many in buying and reading them. But we come to our Rules.

It is a vanity to perſwade the world one hath much learning by getting a great library. As ſoon ſhall I believe every one is valiant that hath a well furniſh'd armoury. I gueſſe good houſekeeping by the ſmoking, not the number of the tunnels, as knowing that many of them (built merely for uniformity) are without chimnies, and more without fires. Once a dunce, void of learning but full of Books, flouted a library-leſſe Scholar with theſe words, *Salve Doctor ſine libris*: But the next day the Scholar coming into this jeerers ſtudy crowded with Books, *Salvete libri* (ſaith he) *ſine Doctore.* *Maxime* 1

Few Books well ſelected are beſt. Yet as a certain Fool bought all the pictures that came out, becauſe he might have his choice; ſuch is the vain humour of many men in gathering of Books: yet when they have done all, they miſſe their end, it being in the Editions of Authours as in the faſhions of clothes, when a man thinks he hath gotten the lateſt and neweſt, preſently another newer comes out. 2

Some Books are onely curſorily to be taſted of. Namely firſt Voluminous Books, the task of a mans life to reade them over; ſecondly, Auxiliary Books, onely to be repair'd to on occaſions; thirdly, ſuch as are mere pieces of Formality, ſo that if you look on them you look thorow them; and he that peeps thorow the caſement of the Index ſees as much 3

as if he were in the houſe. But the lazineſſe of thoſe cannot be excuſed who perfunctorily paſſe over Authours of conſequence, and onely trade in their Fables and Contents. Theſe like City-Cheaters having gotten the names of all countrey Gentlemen, make ſilly people believe they have long lived in thoſe places where they never were, and flouriſh with skill in thoſe Authours they never ſeriouſly ſtudied.

4 *The Genius of the Authour is commonly diſcovered in the Dedicatory epiſtle.* Many place the pureſt grain in the mouth of the ſack for chapmen to handle or buy: And from the dedication one may probably gueſſe at the Work, ſaving ſome rare and peculiar exceptions. Thus when once a Gentleman admired how ſo pithy, learned, and witty a dedication was match'd to a flat, dull, fooliſh book; *In truth*, ſaid another, *they may be well match'd together, for I profeſſe they are nothing a kinne.*

5 *Proportion an houres meditation to an houres reading of a ſtaple Authour.* This makes a man maſter of his learning, and diſpirits the book into the Scholar. The King of Sweden never * filed his men above ſix deep in one company, becauſe he would not have them lie in uſeleſſe cluſters in his Army, but ſo that every particular Souldier might be drawn out into ſervice. Books that ſtand thinne on the ſhelves, yet ſo as the owner of them can bring forth every one of them into uſe, are better then farre greater libraries.

* *Wards Animadver. of warre ſect. 17. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

6 *Learning hath gained moſt by thoſe looks by which the Printers have loſt.* Arius Montanus in printing the Hebrew Bible (commonly called the Bible of the King of Spain) much waſted himſelf, and was accuſed in the Court of Rome for his good deed, and being cited thither, * *Pro tantorum laborum præmio vix veniam impetravit.* Likewiſe Chriſtopher Plantin by printing of his curious interlineary Bible in Anwerp, through the unſeaſonable * exactions of the Kings Officers, ſunk and almoſt ruin'd his eſtate. And our worthy Engliſh Knight, who ſet forth the golden-mouth'd Father in a ſilver print, was a looſer by it.

* *Thuanus obit. vir. Doct. Anno 1598.*

* *Idem in eodem oper. Anno 1589.*

Whereas

Whereas fooliſh Pamphlets prove moſt beneficiall to the Printers. 7
When a French Printer complain'd that he was utterly undone by Printing a ſolid ſerious book of Rablais concerning Phyſick, Rablais to make him recompence made that his jeſting ſcurrilous Work which repair'd the Printers loſſe with advantage. Such books the world ſwarms too much with. When one had ſet out a witleſſe Pamphlet, writing *Finis* at the end thereof, another wittily wrote beneath it,

-------Nay there thou li'ſt, my friend,
In writing fooliſh books there is no end.

And ſurely ſuch ſcurrilous ſcandalous papers do more then conceivable miſchief. Firſt their liſciouſneſſe puts many palats out of taſte, that they can never after relliſh any ſolid and wholſome Writers: ſecondly, they caſt dirt on the faces of many innocent perſons, which dryed on by continuance of time can never after be waſhed off: thirdly, the Pamphlets of this age may paſſe for Records with the next (becauſe publickly uncontrolled) and what we laugh at, our children may believe: fourthly, grant the things true they jeer at, yet this muſick is unlawfull in any Chriſtian Church, to play upon the ſinnes and miſeries of others, the fitter object of the Elegies then the Satyrs of all truly religious.

But what do I ſpeaking againſt multiplicity of books in this age, who treſpaſſe in this nature my ſelf? What was a * learned mans complement may ſerve for my confeſsion and concluſion, *Multi mei ſimiles hoc morbo laborant, ut cum ſcribere neſciant tamen à ſcribendo temperare non poſsint.*

* *Eraſmus in præfat. in 3. ſeriem 4. Tomi Hieron. pag. 408.*

Chap. 19.

Of Time-ſerving.

THere be foure kinds of Time-ſerving: firſt, out of Chriſtian diſcretion, which is commendable; ſecond, out of humane infirmity, which is more pardonable; third,

and fourth, out of ignorance, or affectation, both which are damnable: of them in order.

Maxime 1 *He is a good Time-ſerver that complyes his manners to the ſeverall ages of this life*: pleaſant in youth, without wantonneſſe; grave in old age without frowardneſſe. Froſt is as proper for winter, as flowers for ſpring. Gravity becomes the ancient; and a green Chriſtmas is neither handſome nor healthfull.

2 *He is a good Time-ſerver that finds out the fitteſt opportunity for every action.* God hath made a *time for every thing under the ſunne,* ſave onely for that, which we do at all times, to wit Sinne.

3 *He is a good Time-ſerver that improves the preſent for Gods glory, and his own ſalvation.* Of all the extent of time onely the inſtant is that which we can call ours.

4 *He is a good Time-ſerver that is pliant to the times in matters of mere indifferency.* Too blame are they whoſe minds may ſeem to be made of one entire bone without any joynts: they cannot bend at all, but ſtand as ſtiffly in things of pure indifferency, as in matters of abſolute neceſsity.

5 *He is a good Time-ſerver that in time of perſecution neither betrayes Gods cauſe, nor his own ſafety.* And this he may do,

1 By lying hid both in his perſon and practice: though he will do no evil he will forbear the publick doing of ſome good. He hath as good cheer in his heart, though he keeps not open houſe, and will not publickly broch his Religion, till the palat of the times be better in taſte to relliſh it. *The* * *Prudent ſhall keep ſilence in that time, for it is an evil time.* Though according to S. Peters command we are to *give a* * *reaſon of our hope to every one that asketh*; namely, that asketh for his inſtruction, but not for our deſtruction, eſpecially if wanting lawfull Authority to examine us. * *Ye ſhall be brought* ſaith Chriſt (no need have they therefore to run) *before Princes for my ſake.*

* *Amos.* 5. *v.* 13.

* 1. *Pet.* 3. 15.

* *Matth.* 10. 18.

2 By flying away: if there be no abſolute neceſsity of his ſtaying, no ſcandall given by his flight; if he wants ſtrength

ſtrength to ſtay it out till death; and laſtly, if God openeth a fair way for his departure: otherwiſe, if God bolts the doores and windows againſt him, he is not to creep out at the top of the chimney, and to make his eſcape by unwarrantable courſes. If all ſhould flie, Truth would want champions for the preſent; if none ſhould flie, Truth might want champions for the future. We come now to Time ſervers out of infirmity.

6 *Heart of oke hath ſometimes warp'd a little in the ſcorching heat of perſecution.* Their want of true courage herein cannot be excuſed. Yet many cenſure them for ſurrendring up their forts after a long ſiege, who would have yielded up their own at the firſt ſummons. Oh, there is more required to make one valiant, then to call Cranmer or Jewell Coward, as if the fire in Smithfield had been no hotter, then what is painted in the Book of Martyrs.

7 *Yet afterwards they have come into their former ſtraightneſſe and ſtiffneſſe.* The troops which at firſt rather wheeld about then ran away have come in ſeaſonable at laſt Yea their conſtant bluſhing for ſhame of their former cowardlineſſe hath made their ſouls ever after look more modeſt and beautifull. Thus Cranmer (who ſubſcribed to Popery) grew valiant afterwards, and thruſt his right hand which ſubſcribed firſt into fire, ſo that that hand dyed (as it were) a malefactour and all the reſt of his body dyed a martyr.

8 *Some have ſerved the times out of mere Ignorance.* Gaping for company, as others gap'd before them, *Pater noſter*, or, Our Father. I could both ſigh and ſmile at the witty ſimplicity of a poore old woman who had lived in the dayes of Queen Marie, and Queen Elizabeth, and ſaid her prayers dayly both in Latine and Engliſh, and *Let God*, ſaid ſhe, *take to himſelf which he likes beſt.*

9 *But worſt are thoſe who ſerve the times out of mere Affectation.* Doing as the times do, not becauſe the times do as they ſhould do, but merely for ſiniſter reſpects, to ingratiate themſelves. We reade of an Earl of * Oxford fined by King Henrie

* *Lord Bacon in Henry ſeventh, p. 211.*

Henrie the ſeventh fifteen thouſand marks for having too many Retainers. But how many Retainers hath Time had in all ages? and Servants in all offices? yea and Chaplains too?

10 *It is a very difficult thing to ſerve the times*; they change ſo frequently, ſo ſuddenly, and ſometimes ſo violently from one extreme to another. The times under Diocleſian were Pagan; under Conſtantine, Chriſtian; under Conſtantius, Arian; under Julian, Apoſtate; under Jovian, Chriſtian again, and all within the age of man, the term of ſeventie years. And would it not have wrench'd and ſpraind his ſoul with ſhort turning, who in all theſe ſhould have been of the Religion *for the time being*?

11 *Time-ſervers are oftentimes left in the lurch.* If they do not onely give their word for the times in their conſtant diſcourſes, but alſo give their bands for them, and write in their defence. Such, when the times turn afterwards to another extreme, are left in the briers, and come off very hardly from the bill of their hands; If they turn again with the times none will truſt them; for who will make a ſtaff of an oſier?

12 *Miſerable will be the condition of ſuch Time-ſervers when their Maſter is taken from them.* When as the Angel ſwore Rev.10.6. that *Time ſhall be no longer*. Therefore is it beſt ſerving of him who is eternity, a Maſter that can ever protect us.

To conclude, he that intends to meet with one in a great Fair, and knows not where he is, may ſooner find him by ſtanding ſtill in ſome principall place there, then by traverſing it up and down. Take thy ſtand on ſome good ground in Religion, and keep thy ſtation in a fixed poſture, never hunting after the times to follow them, and an hundred to one, they will come to thee once in thy lifetime.

CHAP. 20.

CHAP. 20.
Of Moderation.

MOderation *is* * *the ſilken ſtring running through the pearl-chain of all virtues.* It appears both in Practice, and Judgement: we will inſiſt on the latter, and deſcribe it firſt negatively:

* *Biſhop Hall of Chriſtian Moderation, pag. 6.*

Moderation is not an halting betwixt two opinions, when the through-believing of one of them is neceſſary to ſalvation: no pity is to be ſhown to ſuch voluntary cripples. We reade (Acts 27. 12.) of an Haven in Crete *which lay towards the South-West, and towards the North-West*: ſtrange, that it could have part of two oppoſitie points, North, and South, ſure, it muſt be very winding. And thus ſome mens ſouls are in ſuch intricate poſtures, they lay towards the Papiſts, and towards the Proteſtants; ſuch we count not of a moderate judgement, but of an immoderate unſettledneſſe. *Maxime* 1

Nor is it a lukewarmneſſe in thoſe things wherein Gods glory is concernd. Herein it's a true Rule, * *Non amat qui non zelat.* And they that are thus lukewarm here ſhall be too hot hereafter in that oven wherein *Dow-bak'd cakes* ſhall be burnt. 2

* *Auguſtin. contra Adamant. cap.* 13.

But it is a mixture of diſcretion and charity in ones judgement. Diſcretion puts a difference betwixt things abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation to be done and believed, and thoſe which are of a ſecond ſort and lower form, wherein more liberty and latitude is allowed. In maintaining whereof, the ſtiffneſſe of the judgement is abated, and ſuppled with charity towards his neighbour. The lukewarm man eyes onely his own ends, and particular profit; the moderate man aims at the good of others, and unity of the Church. 3

Yet ſuch moderate men are commonly cruſh'd betwixt the extreme parties on both ſides. But what ſaid Ignatius? * *I am Chriſts wheat, and muſt be ground with the teeth of beaſts, that I may be made Gods pure manchet.* Saints are born to ſuffer, and muſt take it patiently. Beſides, in this world generally they get the leaſt preferment; it faring with them as with the gueſt that 4

* *Irenæus lib. 5.*

that ſat in the midſt of the table, who could reach to neither meſſe, above or beneath him:

Eſuriunt Medii, Fines bene ſunt ſaturati;
Dixerunt ſtulti, Medium tenuere beati.
Both ends o'th' table furniſh'd are with meat,
Whilſt they in middle nothing have to eat.
They were none of the wiſeſt well I wiſt,
Who made bliſſe in the middle to conſiſt.

Yet theſe temporall inconveniences of moderation are abundantly recompenced with other better benefits: for

1 A well inform'd judgement in it ſelf is a preferment. Potamon began a ſect of Philoſophers called * Ἐκλέκτικοι, who wholly adher'd to no former ſect, but choſe out of all of them what they thought beſt. Surely ſuch Divines, who in unimporting controverſies extract the probableſt opinions from all Profeſsions, are beſt at eaſe in their minds.

* *Diog. Laert in fine Proœmii.*

2 As the moderate mans temporall hopes are not great ſo his fears are the leſſe. He fears not to have the ſplinters of his party (when it breaks) flie into his eyes, or to be buried under the ruines of his ſide if ſuppreſt. He never pinn'd his religion on any mans ſleeve, no not on *the Arme of fleſh*, and therefore is free from all dangerous engagements.

3 His conſcience is clear from raiſing Schiſmes in the Church. The Turks did uſe to wonder much at our Engliſh men for * pinking or cutting their clothes, counting them little better then mad for their pains to make holes in whole cloth, which time of it ſelf would tear too ſoon. But grant men may do with their own garments, as their phancy adviſeth them: yet woe be to ſuch who willingly cut and rend the ſeamleſſe Coat of Chriſt with diſſentions.

* *Bidulph. in his travell to Jeruſalem, pag. 98.*

4 His religion is more conſtant and durable; being here, *in via*, in his way to Heaven, and jogging on a good Travellers pace he overtakes and out-goes many violent men, whoſe over-hot ill-grounded Zeal was quickly tired.

5 In

5 In matters of moment indeed none are more Zealous. He thriftily treaſur'd up his ſpirits for that time, who if he had formerly rent his lungs for every trifle, he would have wanted breath in points of importance.

6 Once in an age the moderate man is in faſhion, Each extreme courts him, to make them friends; and ſurely he hath a great,advantage to be a Peace-maker betwixt oppoſite parties. Now whileſt, as we have ſaid, moderate men are conſtant to themſelves,

Violent men reel from one extremity to another. Who would think that the Eaſt and Weſt Indies were ſo near together, whoſe names ſpeak them at diametricall oppoſition? And yet their extremities are either the ſame Continent, or parted with a very narrow Sea. As the world is round, ſo we may obſerve a circulation in opinions, and Violent men turn often round in their tenets. 5

Pride is the greateſt enemy to Moderation. This makes men ſtickle for their opinions, to make them fundamentall: Proud men having deeply ſtudied ſome additionall point in Divinity, will ſtrive to make the ſame neceſſary to ſalvation, to enhanſe the value of their own worth and pains; and it muſt be fundamentall in religion, becauſe it is fundamentall to their reputation. Yea as love doth deſcend,and men doat moſt on their Grandchildren, ſo theſe are indulgent to the deductions of their deductions, and conſequentiall inferences to the ſeventh generation, making them all of the foundation, though ſcarce of the building of religion. * Ancient Fathers made the Creed *ſymbolum*, the ſhot and totall ſumme of Faith. Since which how many arrearages, and after-reckonings have men brought us in? to which if we will not pay our belief, our ſouls muſt be arreſted without bail upon pain of damnation. Next to Pride popular Applauſe is the greateſt foe Moderation hath, and ſure they who ſail with that wind have their own vain glory for their Haven. 6

* *Irenæus cap. 2. 3. Tertull. de virgin. velan. Hilarius ad Conſtant. Auguſt. Taur. Maxim. Serm. de ſymbolo. Auguſt. Serm. 2. & 1081. De Tempore.*

To cloſe up all, Let men on Gods bleſsing ſoundly, yet wiſely, whip and laſh Lukewarmneſſe and Time-ſerving,

their thongs will never flie in the face of true Moderation, to do it any harm; for however men may undervalue it, that * Father ſpake moſt truly, *Si virtutum finis ille ſit maximus, qui plurimorum ſpectat profectum, Moderatio prope omnium pulcherrima eſt.*

* *Ambroſ. de pœniten. contra Novat. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

Chap. 21.

Of Gravity.

GRavity is the ballaſt of the ſoul, which keeps the mind ſteddy. It is either true, or counterfeit.

Maxime 1 *Naturall dulneſſe, and heavineſſe of temper, is ſometimes miſtaken for true Gravity.* In ſuch men in whoſe conſtitutions one of the retrarch Elements *fire* may ſeem to be omitted. Theſe ſometimes not onely cover their defects, but get praiſe:

Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni.

They do wiſely to counterfeit a reſervedneſſe, and to keep their cheſts alwayes lock'd, not for fear any ſhould ſteal treaſure thence, but leſt ſome ſhould look in, and ſee that there is nothing within them. But they who are born Eunuchs deſerve no ſuch great commendation for their chaſtity. Wonder not ſo much that ſuch men are grave, but wonder at them if they be not grave.

2 *Affected Gravity paſſes often for that which is true*: I mean with dull eyes, for in it ſelf nothing is more ridiculous. When one ſhall uſe the preface of a mile, to bring in a furlong of matter, ſet his face and ſpeech in a frame, and to make men believe it is ſome pretious liquour, their words come out drop by drop: Such mens viſards do ſometimes fall from them, not without the laughter of the beholders. One was called *Gravity* for his affected ſolemneſſe, who afterwards being catch'd in a light prank was ever after to the day of his death called *Gravity-levity.*

3 *True Gravity expreſſeth it ſelf in Gate, Geſture, Apparell, and Speech.*

Speech. Vox * *quædam eſt animi, corporis motus.* As for Speech, Gravity enjoyns it.

* *Ambroſ. de offic. lib. 1. cap. 18.*

1 Not to be over much. *In* * *the multitude of words there wanteth not ſinne.* For of neceſsity many of them muſt be idle, whoſe beſt commendation is that they are good for nothing. Beſides, * *Dum otioſa verba cavere negligimus, ad noxia pervenimus.* And great talkers diſcharge too thick to take alwayes true aim; beſides, it is odious in a company. A man full of words, who took himſelf to be a Grand wit, made his brag that he was the leader of the diſcourſe in what company ſoever he came, and *None*, ſaid he *dare ſpeak in my preſence, if I hold my peace. No wonder*, anſwered one, *for they are all ſtruck dumbe at the miracle of your ſilence.*

* *Prov. 10. 19.*

* *Greg. moral. lib. 7. cap. 17.*

2 To be wiſe and diſcreet, Coloſsians 4. 6. *Let your ſpeech be alwayes with grace, ſeaſoned with ſalt: Alwayes*, not onely ſometimes in the company of godly men * Tindals being in the room hindred a juggler that he could not play his feats: (A Saints preſence ſtops the devils elbow-room to do his tricks) and ſo ſome wicked men are awed into good diſcourſe, whileſt pious people are preſent. But it muſt be alwayes *ſeaſoned with ſalt*, which is the *primum vivens & ultimum moriens* at a feaſt, firſt brought, and laſt taken away, and ſet in the midſt as moſt neceſſary thereunto. *With ſalt*, that is with wiſdome and diſcretion, *non ſalibus, ſed ſale*; nor yet with ſmarting jeeres, like thoſe whoſe diſcourſe is *fire-ſalt*, ſpeaking conſtant ſatyrs to the diſgrace of others.

* *Fox Martyrs, pag. 1079.*

4 *That may be done privately without breach of Gravity, which may not be done publickly.* As when a father makes himſelf his childs rattle, ſporting with him till the father hath devour'd the wiſeman in him.

Equitans in arundine longa.

In ſtead of ſtately ſteed,
Riding upon a reed.

Making play unto him, that one would think he kill'd

his own diſcretion, to bring his child aſleep. Such caſes are no treſpaſſe on Gravity, and married men may claim their priviledge, *to be judged by their Peeres,* and may herein appeal from the cenſuring verdict of batchelours.

5 *Nature in men is ſometimes unjuſtly taxed for a treſpaſſe againſt Gravity.* Some have active ſpirits, yea their ordinary pace is a race. Others have ſo ſcornfull a carriage, that he who ſeeth them once may think them to be all pride, whileſt he that ſeeth them often knows them to have none. Others have perchance a misbeſeeming garb in geſture which they cannot amend; that fork needing ſtrong tines wherewith one muſt thruſt away nature. A fourth ſort are of a merry cheerfull diſpoſition; and God forbid all ſuch ſhould be condemned for lightneſſe. O let not any envious eye diſinherit men of that which is their * *Portion in this life,* comfortably to enjoy the bleſsings thereof. Yet gravity muſt prune though not root out our mirth.

* *Eccleſ.* 7. 18.

6 *Gratious deportment may ſometimes unjuſtly be accuſed of lightneſſe.* Had one ſeen David * dancing before the Ark, * Eliah in his praying-poſture when he put his head betwixt his legs, perchance he might have condemn'd them of unfitting behaviour. Had he ſeen * Peter and John poſting to Chriſts grave, * Rhodia running into the houſe, he would have thought they had left their Gravity behind them. But let none blame them for their ſpeed untill he knows what were their ſpurres, and what were the motives that urged them to make ſuch haſte. Theſe their actions were the true concluſions, following from ſome inward premiſſes in their own ſouls; and that may be a ſyllogiſme in grace, which appears a ſoleciſme in manners.

* 2. *Sam.* 6. 16.
* 1. *Kings* 18. 42.
* *John* 20. 14.
* *Acts* 12. 14.

7 *In ſome perſons Gravity is moſt neceſſary.* Viz. in Magiſtrates and Miniſters. One * Palevizine an Italian Gentleman, and kinſman to Scaliger, had in one night all his haire chang'd from black to gray. Such an alteration ought there to be in the heads of every one that enters into Holy Orders, or Publick Office, metamorphoſ'd from all lightneſſe to Gravity.

* *Scaliger de ſubtil. pag.* 18.

8 *God alone is the giver of true Gravity.* No man wants ſo much

much of any grace as he hath to ſpare; and a conſtant impreſsion of Gods omnipreſence is an excellent way to fix mens ſouls. Biſhop Andrews ever placed the picture of *Mulcaſter his Schoolmaſter over the doore of his ſtudy (whereas in all the reſt of his houſe you ſhould ſcarce ſee a picture) as to be his Tutour and Superviſour. Let us conſtantly apprehend Gods being in preſence, and this will fright us into ſtaied behaviour.

* *Vid. in the funerall ſerm. on him, p.* 18.

Chap. 22.

Of Marriage.

SOme men have too much decried Marriage, as if ſhe the mother were ſcarce worthy to wait on Virginity her daughter, and as if it were an advancement for Marriage to be preferr'd before fornication, and praiſe enough for her to be adjudged lawfull. Give this holy eſtate her due, and then we ſhall find,

Though batchelours be the ſtrongeſt ſtakes, married men are the beſt binders in the hedge of the Common-wealth. 'Tis the Policy of the Londoners when they ſend a ſhip into the Levant or Mediterranean ſea, to make every marriner therein a merchant, each ſeaman adventuring ſomewhat of his own, which will make him more wary to avoid, and more valiant to undergo dangers. Thus married men, eſpecially if having poſterity, are the deeper ſharers in that ſtate wherein they live, which engageth their affections to the greater loyalty. *Maxime* 1

It is the worſt clandeſtine marriage when God is not invited to it. Wherefore beforehand beg his gratious aſsiſtance. Marriage ſhall prove no lottery to thee, when the hand of providence chuſeth for thee, who, if drawing a blank, can turn it into a prize by ſanctifying a bad wife unto thee. 2

Deceive not thy ſelf by overexpecting happineſſe in the married eſtate. Look not therein for contentment greater then God 3

will give, or a creature in this world can receive, namely to be free from all inconveniences. Marriage is not like the hill Olympus, ὅλος λαμπρὸς, *wholly clear*, without clouds; yea expect both wind and ſtorms ſometimes, which when blown over, the aire is the clearer, and wholſomer for it. Make account of certain cares and troubles which will attend thee. Remember the nightingales which ſing onely ſome moneths in the ſpring, but commonly are ſilent when they have hatch'd their egges, as if their mirth were turned into care for their young ones. Yet all the moleſtations of Marriage are abundantly recompenced with other comforts which God beſtoweth on them, who make a wiſe choice of a wife, and obſerve the following rules.

4 *Let Grace and Goodneſſe be the principall loadſtone of thy affections.* For love which hath ends will have an end, whereas that which is founded in true virtue will alwayes continue. Some hold it unhappy to be married with a diamond ring, perchance (if there be ſo much reaſon in their folly) becauſe the diamond hinders the roundneſſe of the ring, ending the infiniteneſſe thereof, and ſeems to preſage ſome termination in their love, which ought ever to endure, and ſo it will, when it is founded in religion.

5 *Neither chuſe all, nor not at all for Beauty.* A cried-up Beauty makes more for her own praiſe then her husbands profit. They tell us of of a floting Iſland in Scotland: but ſure no wiſe pilot will caſt anchor there, leſt the land ſwimme away with his ſhip. So are they ſerved (and juſtly enough) who onely faſten their love on fading Beauty, and both fail together.

6 *Let there be no great diſproportion in age.* They that marry ancient people merely in expectation to bury them, hang themſelves in hope that one will come and cut the halter. Nor is Gods ordinance but mans abuſing thereof taxed in this homely expreſsion, uſed by the Apoſtle himſelf. If Virginity enforced above the parties power be * termed by S. Paul 1. Cor. 7.35. a *ſnare or halter*, marriage is no better when againſt ones will, for private reſpects.

* Οὐχ ἵνα βρόχον ὑμῖν ἐπιβάλω, 1. Cor. 7.35.

Let

7

Let wealth in its due diſtance be regarded. There be two towns in the land of Liege called Bovins and Dinant, the inhabitants whereof bear almoſt an incredible hatred one to another, and yet notwithſtanding their children uſually marry together; and the * reaſon is, becauſe there is none other good town, or wealthy place near them. Thus parents for a little pelf often marry their children to thoſe whoſe perſons they hate; and thus union betwixt families is not made, but the breach rather widened the more.

* *Phil. Com. lib. 2. cap. 1.*

This ſhall ſerve for a Concluſion. A Batchelour was saying, *Nex to no wife, a good wife is beſt. Nay,* ſaid a Gentlewoman, *next to a good wife, no wife is the beſt.* I wiſh to all married people the outward happineſſe which * *Anno* 1605 happened to a couple in the city of Delph in Holland, living moſt lovingly together ſeventy five years in wedlock, till the man being one hundred and three, the woman ninety nine years of age, died within three houres each of other, and were buried in the ſame grave.

* *Thuan. de obit. vir doct. in eod. Anno.] pag.* 185.

Chap. 23.

Of Fame.

FAme is the echo of actions, reſounding them to the world, ſave that the echo repeats onely the laſt part, but Fame relates all and often more then all.

Maxime 1

Fame ſometimes hath created ſomething of nothing. She hath made whole countreys more then ever Nature did, eſpecially near the Poles, and then hath peopled them likewiſe with inhabitants of her own invention, Pygmies, Giants, and Amazons : Yea Fame is ſometimes like unto a kind of Muſhrom, which * Pliny recounts to be the greateſt miracle in nature, becauſe growing and having no root, as Fame no ground of her reports.

* *In miraculis vel maximum eſt Tubera naſci & vivere ſine ulla radice, Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. 19. cap. 2.*

2

Fame often makes a great deal of a little. Abſalom kill'd one of

Davids ſonnes, and * Fame kill'd all the reſt; and generally ſhe magnifies and multiplies matters. Loud was that lie which that bell told hanging in a clock-houſe at Weſtminſter, and uſually rung at the Coronation and Funeralls of Princes, having this inſcription about it,

King Edward made me
thirty thouſand and three,
Take me down and weigh me
and more ſhall you find me.

But when this bell was taken down at the dooms-day of Abbeys, this and two more were found not to weigh * twenty thouſand. Many relations of Fame are found to ſhrink accordingly.

* 2. *Sam.* 13. 30.

* *Stowes ſurvey of London, pag.* 528.

3 *Some Fames are moſt difficult to trace home to their form*: and thoſe who have ſought to track them, have gone rather in a circle then forward, and oftentimes through the doubling of reports have return'd back again where they began. Fame being a baſtard or *filia populi*, 'tis very hard to find her father, and ofttimes ſhe hath rather all then any for her firſt Authours.

4 *Politicians ſometimes raiſe Fames on purpoſe.* As that ſuch things are done already, which they mean to do afterwards. By the light of thoſe falſe fires they ſee into mens hearts, and theſe falſe rumours are true ſcouts to diſcover mens diſpoſitions. Beſides, the deed (though ſtrange in it ſelf) is done afterwards with the leſſe noiſe, men having vented their wonder beforehand, and the ſtrangeneſſe of the action is abated, becauſe formerly made ſtale in report. But if the rumour ſtartles men extremely, and draws with it dangerous conſequences, then they can preſently confute it, let their intentions fall and proſecute it no further.

5 *The Papall ſide of all Fame-merchants drive the moſt gainfull trade*, as that worthy * Knight hath given us an exact ſurvey thereof. But long before them, ſtrange was that plot of Stratocles, who gave it out that he had gotten a victory, and the conſtant report thereof continued three dayes, and then was confuted; and Stratocles being charged with abuſing his

* *S. Edward Sandys view of the Weſt Religions, pag.* 100.

his people with a lie, *Why* ſaid * he) *are ye angry with me for making you paſſe three dayes in mirth and jollity more then otherwiſe you ſhould ?*

* *Plutarchs* Πολί πκ παραγγέλματα.

6 *Incredible is the ſwiftneſse of Fame in carrying reports.* Firſt ſhe creeps thorow a village, then ſhe goes thorow a town, then ſhe runs thorow a city, then ſhe flyes thorow a countrey, ſtill the farther the faſter. Yea Chriſt who made the dumbe ſpeak, made not tell-tale Fame ſilent, though charging thoſe he cured to hold their peace, * *but ſo much the more went there a Fame abroad of him.* Yea ſome things have been reported ſoon as ever they were done at impoſsible diſtance. The overthrow of Perſeus was brought out of Macedon to Rome in * foure dayes. And in Domitians time a report was brought two thouſand five hundred miles in one day. In which accidents,

* *Luke* 5. 15.

* *Livy. lib.* 45. *juxta princip.*

1 Fame takes poſt on ſome other advantage. Thus the overthrow of the Sabines was known at Rome *prius pene quam nunciari poſsit,* by the means of the * arms of the Sabines drowned in the river of Tiber, and carried down by the tide to Rome. And thus *Anno* * 1568 the overthrow which the Spaniards gave the Dutch at the river of Ems was known at Grunning before any horſeman could reach thither, by the multitude of the Dutch caps which the river brought down into the city. But theſe conveiances are but ſlugs to make ſuch miraculous ſpeed : wherefore ſometimes reports are carried,

* *Livy, lib.* 1.

* *Famian. Strada de Bello Belgic. lib.* 5. *p.* 456.

2 By the miniſtration of Spirits. The devils are well at leiſure to play ſuch pranks, and may do it in a frolick. And yet they would ſcarce be the carriers except they were well payed for the portage, getting ſome profit thereby (doing of miſchief is all the profit they are capable of) and do harm to ſome by the ſuddenneſſe of thoſe reports. Or elſe

3 The Fame is antedated and raiſ'd before the fact, being related at gueſſe before 'twas acted. Thus ſome have been cauſleſſely commended for early riſing in the morning,

morning, who indeed came to their journeys end over night. If ſuch foremade reports prove true, they are admired and regiſtred; if falſe, neglected and forgotten: as thoſe onely which eſcaped ſhipwrack hung up *votivas tabulas*, tablets with their names in thoſe Haven-towns where they came aſhore. But as for thoſe who are drowned, their memorialls are drowned with them.

7 *Generall reports are ſeldome falſe. Vox populi vox Dei.* A body of that greatneſſe hath an eye of like clearneſſe, and it is impoſsible that a wanderer with a counterfeit paſſe ſhould paſſe undiſcovered.

8 *A fond Fame is beſt confuted by neglecting it.* By *Fond* underſtand ſuch a report as is rather ridiculous then dangerous if believed. It is not worth the making a Schiſme betwixt News-mongers to ſet up an antifame againſt it. Yea ſeriouſly and ſtudiouſly to endeavour to confute it, will grace the rumour too much, and give ſuſpicion that indeed there is ſome reality in it. What madneſſe were it to plant a piece of ordinance to beat down an aſpen leaf, which having alwayes the palſie, will at laſt fall down of it ſelf. And Fame hath much of the ſcold in her; the beſt way to ſilence her is to be ſilent, and then at laſt ſhe will be out of breath with blowing her own trumpet.

9 *Fame ſometimes reports things leſſe then they are.* Pardon her for offending herein, ſhe is guilty ſo ſeldome. For one kingdome of Scotland, which (they ſay) Geographers deſcribe an hundred miles too ſhort, moſt Northern countreys are made too large. Fame generally overdoes, underdoes but in ſome particulars. The Italian proverb hath it, *There is leſſe honeſty, wiſdome, and money in men then is counted on*: yet ſometimes a cloſe churl, who locks his coffers ſo faſt Fame could never peep into them, dyeth richer then he was reported when alive. None could come near to feel his eſtate; it might therefore cut fatter in his purſe, then was expected. But Fame falls moſt ſhort in thoſe Tranſcendents, which are above her Predicaments; as in * Solomons wiſdome: *And behold*

* 1. *Lings* 10, 7.

behold one half was not told me : thy wiſdome and proſperity exceedeth the Fame that I heard. But chiefly in fore-reporting the Happineſſe in heaven, which eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entred into the heart of man to conceive.

Chap. 24.

Of the Antiquity of Churches and Neceſsity of them.

WE will conſider their Antiquity amongſt the Jews, Heathen, and Chriſtians. Now temples amongſt the Jews were more or leſſe ancient as the acception of the word is ſtraiter or larger.

Take Temple for a covered ſtanding ſtructure, and the Jews had none till the time of Solomon, which was from the beginning of the * world about two thouſand nine hundred thirty two years : till then they had neither leave nor libertie to build a Temple. For the Patriarchs, Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, lived in Pilgrimage ; their poſterity in Egypt in perſecution ; their children in the Wilderneſſe in conſtant travelling; their Succeſſours in Canaan in continuall warrefare, till the dayes of Solomon. *Maxime* 1

* *Vid. Chron. Helvici.*

Take Templum *for* tectum * amplum, *a large place covered to ſerve God therein, and the Tabernacle was a moveable Temple,* built by Moſes in the wilderneſſe about the yeare of the world two thouſand foure hundred fiftie five. Yea we find Gods ſpirit ſtyling this Tabernacle a Temple, 1. Sam. 1. 9. *Ely the Prieſt ſate upon a ſeat by a pillar of the Temple.* 1. Sam. 3. 3. *Before the lamp of the Lord went out in the Temple.* Such a portable Church Conſtantine * had carried about with him when he went to warre. 2

* *Iſidorius lib. 15. cap. 14.*

* *Socrates lib. 1. cap. 14. & Sozomen. lib. 1. cap. 8.*

Gods children had places with Altars to ſerve God in before they had any Temples. Such Altars ſeem as ancient as Sacrifices, both which are twins ; and in Relatives find one and find both. 3

both. Indeed the firſt Altar we reade of in Scripture is that which Noah built after the Floud: But heare what a * Learned man ſaith thereof, *Non tamen exiſtimandum toto illo tempore, quo ante diluvium pii homines Deo ſacrificarunt Altarium uſum fuiſſe incognitum. Potius id credendum, Noachum ſequutum fuiſſe exemplum eorum, qui eum præceſſerant, imo morem inolitum.*

*Rivet. in Geneſ. pag. 275.

4 *The Jews beſides the Temple had many other Synagogues,* ſerving inſtead of Chappells of eaſe to the mother Church at Jeruſalem. In the new Teſtament (the Temple yet ſtanding) 'tis plain that Chriſt often graced ſuch Synagogues with his preſence and preaching; and 'tis * probable they were in uſe ever ſince Joſuahs time, when the land was firſt inhabited with Iſraelites, and that the Levites diſperſed all over the land did teach the people therein: Otherwiſe Paleſtine was a great Pariſh, and ſome therein had an hundred miles to Church; beſides, peoples ſouls were poorely fed having but three meals in a yeare, being but thrice to appear at Jeruſalem.

* *Hoſpinian. de orig. Temp. cap. 4.*

5 *Many Heathen Temples were ancienter then that of Solomons.* Amongſt which Pagan Temples there is much juſtling for precedency, though ſome think that of Apis in Egypt ſhews the beſt evidence for her ſeniority, wherein was worſhipped and Oxe, of whoſe herd (not to ſay breed) was the Calf which the Iſraelites worſhipped in the wilderneſſe, being made in imitation thereof. But the Heathen had this groſſe conceit that their Gods were affixt to their Statues, as their Statues were confin'd in their Temples: So that in effect they did not ſo much build Temples for their Gods, as thereby lay Nets to catch them in, inviting them thither as into a Pallace, and then keeping them there as in a Priſon.

6 *Moſt civilized Heathen Nations had Temples for their Gods.* I ſay, *Moſt*, for the Perſians are ſaid to have none at all. Perchance it was becauſe they chiefly worſhipped the Sunne, and then according to the generall opinion of fixing Deities to their Temples, it was in vain to erect and ſtructure therein to reſtrain and keep his Ubiquitary beams. And yet that the Perſians were wholly Temple-leſſe will hardly be believed,

ved, ſeeing the Aſſyrians on this ſide (* Senacherib was killed worſhipping in the houſe of Niſroch his God) and the Indians on the other ſide of them had their Temples erected, as ſome will have it, by Bacchus their Dionyſius: yea we find a Temple in Perſia dedicated to * Nanea in the time of Antiochus, and though it may be pretended that the influence of the Grecian Empire on the Perſians had then ſpiced them with a ſmack of Greciſme, yet Nanea will ſcarce be proved any Grecian Deity: not to ſay any thing of the Temple of Bell. *Civilized*: for as for the Scythian wandring Nomades, Temples ſorted not with their condition, as wanting both civility and ſettledneſſe: and who can expect Churches from them, who had no houſes for themſelves? Laſtly I ſay, *Nation*: for the Stoicks onely, a conceited ſect, forbad any building of Temples, either out of deriſion of the common conceit that Deities were kept in durance in their Temples; or elſe out of humour, becauſe they counted the generall practice of other men a juſt ground for their contrary opinion. And now we come to the Antiquity of Chriſtian Churches, and crave leave of the Reader, that we may for a while diſſolve our continued diſcourſe into a dialogue.

* 2. *Kings* 19. 37.

* 2. *Maccabees* 1.13. *vide etiam.* 1. *Maccab.* 6. 2.

A. I am much perplexed to find the beginning of Chriſtian Churches in the Scripture. There I find the Saints meeting *in the houſe of Marie the mother of Mark*; *in the School of Tyrannus*; *in an upper Chamber*; but can ſee no foundation of a Church, I mean of a place and ſtructure ſeparated and ſet apart ſolely for Divine Service.

B. That the Saints had afterwards Churches in your ſenſe is plain: 1. Cor. 11. 22. *Have ye not Houſes to eat and drink in, or deſpiſe ye the Church of God, and ſhame them that have not*? Here the oppoſition is a good expoſition of the Apoſtles meaning, and the Antitheſis betwixt *Houſes* and *Church* ſpeaks them both to be locall; ſo that S. Paul thought their materiall Church *deſpiſed*, that is abuſed and unreverenc'd, by their lay-meeting of Love-feaſts therein.

A. By your favour, Sr, the Apoſtle by *Church* meaneth there the aſſembly or ſociety of Gods ſervants, as appears by what followeth, *or deſpiſe ye the Church of God, and ſhame them that have not? Them*, and not *that*, not ſpeaking of the Place but Perſons: The latter words of the Apoſtle comment on the former, ſhewing how to ſhame thoſe who had not (that is, to neglect and upbraid the poore) is *to deſpiſe the Church of God.*

B. Pardon me Sr: for the Apoſtle therein accuſeth the Corinthians of a ſecond fault. *Imprimis* he chargeth them for diſpiſing Gods materiall Church; *Item*, for ſhaming their poore brethren in their Love-feaſts. The particle *And* ſheweth the addition of a new charge, but no expounding or amplifying of the former. But, Sr, ſuſpending our judgements herein, let us deſcend to the Primitive times before Conſtantine, we ſhall there find Churches without any contradiction.

A. Not ſo neither: Herein alſo the trumpet of Antiquity giveth a very uncertain ſound: Indeed we have but little left of the ſtory of thoſe times wherein Chriſtian books were as much perſecuted as men, and but a few Confeſſour-records eſcaping martyrdome are come to our hands. Yea God may ſeem to have permitted the ſuppreſsion of primitive Hiſtory, leſt men ſhould be too ſtudious in reading, and obſervant in practiſing the cuſtomes of that age, even to the neglecting and undervaluing of his written Word.

B. Yet how ſlenderly ſoever thoſe Primitive times are ſtoried, there is enough in them to prove the Antiquity of Churches. I will not inſtance on the decrees of Evariſtus, Hyginus, and other Popes in the firſt three hundred years about the conſecrating of Churches, becauſe their authority is ſuſpected as antedated; and none are bound to believe that the Gibeonites came from ſo far a Countrey as their mouldy bread and clouted ſhoes did pretend. Churches are plainly to be found in Tertullian, two hundred years after Chriſt;

and

and Euſebius * witneſſeth that before the time of Diocleſian the Chriſtians had Churches, which the Tyrant cauſed to be deſtroyed.

A. But * Origen, Minutius Felix, Arnobius, and Lactantius, being preſſ'd by the Heathen that Chriſtians had no Churches, anſwered by way of confeſsion; yielding that they had none. This is the difficulty perplexeth me. It was a bloody ſpeech of Abner, *Let the young men riſe up and play before us*: But worſe is their cruelty who make ſport at the falling out of the old men, when the reverend brows of Antiquity knock one againſt another, and Fathers thus extremely differ in matters of fact.

B. Why, Sr? A charitable diſtinction may reconcile them: if by *Churches*, ſtately magnificent Fabricks be meant, in that acception the Chriſtians had no Churches: but ſmall Oratories and Prayer-places they then had, though little, low and dark, being ſo fearfull of perſecution they were jealous the Sunne-beams ſhould behold them: and indeed ſtately Churches had but given a fairer aim to their Enemies malice to hit them. Such an homely place learned Sr Henrie Spelman * preſents us with, which was firſt founded at Glaſtenbury, thatched and wattled: And let not our Churches now grown men look with a ſcornfull eye on their own picture, when babes in their ſwadling clothes. And no wonder if Gods Houſe

Erubuit domino cultior eſſe ſuo,
The Church did bluſh more glory for to have
Then had her Lord. He begg'd, ſhould ſhe be brave?

Chriſt himſelf being then cold, and hungry, and naked in his afflicted members. Such a mean Oratory Tertullian calls * *Triclinium Chriſtianorum*, The Parlour or Three-bed-room of the Chriſtians.

A. But it ſeems not to conſiſt with Chriſtian ingenuity for the fore-named Fathers abſolutely to deny their having of Churches, becauſe they had onely poore ones.

* *Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 8. cap. 1. & 2.*

* *Origen. l. 4. contra Celſum*, Objicit nobis Celſus quod non habeamus Imagines aut Aras aut Templa. *Idem lib. 8. contra Celſum*, Celſus & Aras & Simulacra & Delubra ait nos defugere quo minus fundentur. *Arnobius lib. 4. Contra Gen.* Accuſatis nos quòd nec Templa habeamus, nec Imagines nec Aras. *Minut. Felix pag. 73.* Putaris autem nos occultare quod colàmus ſi Delubra & Aras non habemus. *Lactantius*, Quid ſibi Templa, quid Aræ volunt, quid denique ipſa Simulacra, &c.

* *De Concilliis Britan. pag. 11.*

* *Adverſus Gentes, cap. 39.*

B. Take then another Anſwer, namely in denying they had no Temples, they meant it in the ſame notion wherein they were interrogated, to wit, they had no Temples like the Pagans for Heathen gods, no *clauſtra Numinum,* wherein the Deity they ſerved was impriſoned. Or may we not ſay that in that age the Chriſtians had no Churches generally, though they might have them in ſome places? the elevation of their happineſſe being varied according to ſeverall climates: And Chriſtendome then being of ſo large an extent, it might be ſtormy with perſecution in one countrey, and fair weather in another. We come now to the Neceſsity.

7 *There is no abſolute neceſsity that Chriſtians ſhould have Churches.* No neceſsity at all in reſpect of God, no abſolute neceſsity in reſpect of men, when perſecution hinders the erecting of them: In ſuch a caſe any place is made a Church for the time being, as any private houſe where the King and his Retinue meet is preſently made the Court.

8 *Chriſtians have no direct precept to build Churches under the Goſpel.* I ſay *direct*: For the Law of God, which commands a publick Sanctification of a Sabbath, muſt needs, by * way of neceſſary conſequence, imply a ſet, known, and publick Place. Beſides, Gods command to Moſes and Solomon to build a Temple in a manner obligeth us to build Churches. In which command obſerve the body and the ſoul thereof. The body thereof was Ceremoniall and mortall, yea dyed, and is buried in our Saviours grave: The ſoul thereof is Morall and eternall, as founded in Nature, and is alwayes to endure. Thus S. Paul finds a conſtant bank for Miniſters Maintenance lockt up in a Ceremoniall Law, *Thou ſhalt not muzzle the mouth of the Ox that treadeth out the corn.* The Apoſtle on the Morality couched therein founded the *Charter of endowment* for Miniſters in the Goſpel. Beſides, God hath left a warrant dormant with his Church, *Let all things be done decently and in order.* And this ties Chriſtians to the building of Churches for their publick Aſſemblies, whereby not onely Decency

* Ut communes fidelibus preces Deus verbo ſuo edicit, ſic & Templa publica ipſis peragendis deſtinata eſſe oportet, *Calvin. inſtit. lib. 3. cap. 20. num. 30.*

Decency but Piety is ſo much advanced, eſpecially in theſe three reſpects:

1 Hereby the ſame meat ſerves to feed many gueſts, one Paſtour inſtructing many people in the ſame place.

2 Devotion is increaſed with company. Their praiſes are the louder; and muſick is ſweeteſt in a full conſort: their prayers are the ſtronger, beſetting God as it were in a round, and not ſuffering him to depart till he hath bleſſed them. * *Hæc vis grata deo.*

3 The very Place it ſelf, being dedicated to Gods ſervice, is a Monitour to them *Hoc agere,* and ſtirres up pious thoughts in them. Say not, it is but lame Devotion that cannot mount without the help of ſuch a wooden ſtock; rather 'tis lame indeed which is not raiſ'd, though having the advantage thereof.

* *Tertull. Apol.*

Thoſe that may, muſt frequent the publick Churches. Such as nowadayes are ambitious of conventicles are deeply guilty: for as it had been deſperate madneſſe in time of perſecution publickly to reſort to Divine Service, ſo it is no leſſe unthankfulneſſe to God now, to ſerve him in woods and holes, not taking notice of the liberty of the Goſpel, which he gratiouſly hath vouchſafed; yea ſuch people in effect deny the King to be Defender of the Faith, but make him a Perſecuter rather, in that they dare not avouch the truth in the face of his Authority. If it be good they do (thanks be to God) it may be done any where; if bad, it muſt be done no where. Beſides, by their voluntary private meetings, they give occaſions to many to ſupect their actions there: And grant them unjuſtly traduced for their behaviour therein, yet can they not juſtly be excuſed, becauſe they invite ſlanderous tongues to cenſure them, in not *providing for honeſt things in the ſight of men,* and clearing Gods ſervice as well from the ſuſpicion, as from the guilt of any diſhoneſty. 9

We ſhould now come to ſpeak of the Holineſſe, Reverence, Decency, and Magnificencie of Churches: But herein I had rather heare the judgements of other men. Let it ſerve inſtead of a concluſion to obſerve that Solomons Temple

was the ſtatelyeſt ſtructure that ever was or ſhall be in the world; built by the wealthyeſt, contrived by the wiſeſt King in ſeven years (now counted the life of a man) by an army of Workmen, no fewer then * one hundred fourtie three thouſand three hundred, of the ſoundeſt timber, moſt pretious ſtones, moſt proper metall, as the nature of the things required; either the ſtrongeſt, Braſſe; or the richeſt, Gold: In a word, Earth gave it moſt coſtly matter, and Heaven it ſelf moſt curious workmanſhip, God directing them. And though Solomon had no mines of Gold and Silver in his own land, yet had he the ſpoils and gifts of the neighbouring nations, and once in three years the golden land of Ophir came ſwimming to Hieruſalem. God being the Landlord of the earth, Solomon was then his Receiver, to whom the World payed in her rent, to build his Temple. And was not he a moſt wealthy King, *in whoſe dayes ſilver was nothing accounted of*; ſeeing in our dayes the commander of both Indyes hath ſo much braſſe coin currant in his Court? As for Joſephus his conceit, that the ſecond edition of the Temple by Zorobabel, as it was new forrelled and filleted with gold by Herod, was a ſtatelier volume then that firſt of Solomon, it is too weak a ſurmiſe to have a confutation faſtned to it.

* 1. *Kings* 5. 15, 16.

And yet we will not deny but the world hath ſeen greater buildings for the Piles and Fabricks, as may appear by this parrallel.

1	2	3
Gods Temple, built at *Hieruſalem by Solomon.*	*Diana's Temple*, built at *Epheſus by the Kings of Aſia.*	*Sepulcher Church*, built on *Mount Calvary by Conſtantine.*
Long 60 } a Broad 20 } cubits. High 30 }	Long 425 } b Broad 220 } foot. High 60 }	Long } c Broad } We find no ſet dimenſion but hyperbolicall High } expreſſions of it.

a 2. *Chron.* 3. 3.
b *Plin. nat. Hiſt. lib.* 36. *cap.* 14.
c *Euſebius lib.* 3. *de vit. Conſtantini, c.* 24.
ὕψος τριάκοντα μέτρων πηχῶν
πλάτος εἴκοσι οὐ μικρόν.

4	5	6
S. Sophia's Church, built at *Conſtantinople by Juſtinian.*	*S. Pauls Church,* built at *London by King Ethelbert.*	*Turkiſh Moſque,* built at *Fez.*
Long 260 Broad 75 High 180 } foot. [d]	Long 690 Broad 130 High 102 } foot. [e]	Long 150 Broad 80 High } Florentine Cubits. [f]

d *Evagrius lib. 4. cap. 30.*
e *Namely in the body of the Church beſides the ſteeple, Cambd. Britt. in Middleſex.*
f *The height we find not, but it is a mile and half in compaſſe, Leo Africanus, lib. 3. pag. 126.*

But when the Reader hath with his eyes ſurveyed theſe Temples, and findeth them to exceed Solomons, yet let him remember, firſt, that there is nothing more uncertain then the meaſures uſed in ſeverall countreys; one countreys ſpan may be another countreys cubit, and the toe of one countrey as big as the foot of another: ſecondly, that in Solomons Temple great Cubits were meant *Primæ menſuræ*, 2. Chron. 3.3 thirdly, that we ſee moſt of theſe ſtructures onely through the magnifying glaſſe of Fame, or elſe by the eyes of Travellers, who uſually count the beſt they ever ſaw to be the beſt was ever ſeen, yea in charity will lend a Church ſome hundreds of feet to help out the dimenſion thereof, as Bellonius a modern eye-witneſſe counteth * three hundred ſixtie five doores in the preſent Church of Sophia, which hath but foure, as an exact * Traveller hath obſerved. Laſtly, whileſt humane Hiſtorians will overlaſh for the honour of their own Nations, we know it muſt needs be true what Truth hath written of Solomons Temple.

* *Lib. 1. obſerv. cap. 76.*

* *G. Sandys Travells, pag. 32.*

Chap. 25.

Of Miniſters maintenance.

MAintenance of Miniſters ought to be Plentifull Certain, and in ſome ſort Proportionable to their deſerts. It ſhould be Plentifull, becauſe

Maxime 1

Their education was very chargeable to fit them for their profeſſion, both at School, and in the Univerſity: their books very

dear, and thoſe which they brought in Folio, ſhrink quickly into Quarto's, in reſpect of the price their executours can get for them. Say not that Scholars draw needleſſe expences on themſelves by their own laviſhneſſe, and that they ſhould rather lead a Faſhion of thrift, then follow one of riot; for let any equall man tax the bill of their neceſſary charges, and it amounts to a great Summe, yea though they be never ſo good husbands. Beſides, the prizes of all commodities dayly riſe higher; all perſons and profeſsions are raiſed in their manner of living: Scholars therefore, even againſt their wills, muſt otherwhiles be involved in the generall expenſiveneſſe of the times; it being impoſsible that one ſpoke ſhould ſtand ſtill, when all the wheel turns about.

Ob. But many needleſſely charge themſelves in living too long in the Univerſity, ſucking ſo long of their Mother, they are never a whit the wiſer for it; whileſt others not ſtaying there ſo long, nor going through the porch of humane Arts, but entring into Divinity at the poſtern, have made good Preachers, providing their people wholſome meat, though not ſo finely dreſt.

Anſw. Much good may it do their very hearts that feed on it. But how neceſſary a competent knowledge of thoſe Sciences is for a perfect Divine, is known to every wiſe man. Let not mens ſuffering be counted their fault, not thoſe accuſed to *ſtand idle in the market whom no man hath hired.* Many would leave the Univerſity ſooner, if called into the countrey on tolerable conditions.

2 *Becauſe Miniſters are to ſubſiſt in a free, liberall, and comfortable way.* Balaam the falſe Prophet rode with his *two men; Gods Levite had * one man: Oh let not the Miniſters of the Goſpel be ſlaves to others, and ſervants to themſelves! They are not to prie into gain through every ſmall chink. It becomes them rather to be acquainted with the natures of things, then with the prizes, and to know them rather as they are in the world then as they are in the market. Otherwiſe,

* *Numb.* 22. 22.
* *Judges* 19. 11.

wiſe, if his means be ſmall, and living poore, neceſsity will bolt him out of his own ſtudy, and ſend him to the barn, when he ſhould be at his book, or make him ſtudy his Eaſter book more then all other Writers. Hereupon ſome wanting what they ſhould have at home, have done what they ſhould not abroad.

3 *Becauſe Hoſpitality is expected at their hands.* The poore come to their houſes, as if they had intereſt in them, and the Miniſters can neither receive them nor refuſe them. Not to relieve them, were not Chriſtianity, and to relieve them, were worſe then Infidelity, becauſe therein they wrong their providing for their own family. Thus ſometimes are they forced to be Nabals againſt their will; yet it grieveth them to ſend away the people empty. But what ſhall they do, ſeeing they cannot multiply their loaves and their fiſhes? Beſides, Clergie-men are deeply rated to all payments. Oh that their profeſsion were but as highly prized, as their eſtate is valued.

4 *Becauſe they are to provide for their Poſterity*, that after the death of their parents they may live, though not in an high, yet in an honeſt faſhion, neither leaving them to the wide world, nor to a narrow cottage.

5 *Becauſe the Levites in the Old Teſtament had plentifull proviſion.* Oh 'tis good to be Gods Penſioner, for he giveth his large allowance. They had Cities and Suburbs (houſes and glebeland) Tithes, Freewill-offerings, and their parts in Firſtfruits, and Sacrifices. Do the Miniſters of the Goſpel deſerve worſe wages for bringing better tidings? Beſides, the Levites places were hereditary, and the Sonne ſure of his Fathers houſe and land without a Faculty *ad ſuccedendum patri.*

6 *Becauſe the Papiſts in time of Popery gave their Prieſts plentifull means.* Whoſe Benefactours, ſo bountifull to them, may ſerve to condemne the covetouſneſſe of our age towards Gods Miniſters, in ſuch who have more knowledge, and ſhould have more religion.

Ob. But the great means of the Clergie in time of Popery was rather wreſted then given. The Prieſts melted mens

mens hearts into charity with the Scarefire of Purgatory: And for juſtice now to give back what holy fraud had gotten away, is not Sacriledge but Reſtitution. And when thoſe grand and vaſt Donations were given to the Church, there was (as ſome ſay) a voyce of Angels heard from heaven, ſaying, *Hodie venenum in Eccleſiam Chriſti cecidit.*

Anſw. If poyſon then fell into the Church, ſince hath there a ſtrong antidote been given to expell it, eſpecially in Impropriations. Diſtinguiſh we betwixt ſuch Donations given to uſes in themſelves merely unlawfull and ſuperſtitious, as Praying for the dead, and the like; and thoſe which *in Genere* were given to Gods Service, though *in Specie* ſome ſuperſtitious end were annexed thereto. And grant the former of theſe to be void in their very granting, yet the latter ought to be rectified and reduced to the true uſe, and in no caſe to be alienated from God. Plato ſaith that in his time it was a Proverb amongſt Children, Τῶν ὀρθῶς δοθέντων οὐκ ἔστιν ἀφαίρεσις, *Things that are truly given muſt not be taken away again.* Sure as our Saviour ſet a child in the midſt of his Diſciples to teach them humility, ſo nowadayes a child need be ſet in the midſt of ſome men to teach them juſtice. Excellently * Luther, *Niſi ſuper eſſet ſpolium Aegypti, quod rapuimus Papæ, omnibus Miniſtris Verbi fame pereundum eſſet; quod ſi ſuſtentandi eſſent de contributione populi, miſere profecto ac duriter viverent. Alimur ergo de ſpoliis Aegypti collectis ſub Papatu, & hoc ipſum tamen quod reliquum eſt diripitur à Magiſtratu: ſpoliantur Parochiæ & Scholæ, non aliter ac ſi fame necare nos velint.*

* *In his Comment on the 47. of Geneſ. pag. 631.*

Ob. But in the pure Primitive times the Means were leaſt, and Miniſters the beſt: And nowadayes, does not wealth make them lazy, and poverty keep them painfull? like Hawks they flie beſt when ſharp. The beſt way to keep the ſtream of the Clergie ſweet and clear is to fence out the tide of wealth from coming unto them.

Anſw. Is

Answ. Is this our thankfulneſſe to the God of heaven, for turning perſecution into peace, in pinching his poore Miniſters? When the Common-wealth now makes a feaſt, ſhall neither Zadok the Prieſt, nor Nathan the Prophet, be invited to it? that ſo the footſteps of Primitive perſecution may ſtill remain in theſe peaceable times, amongſt the Papiſts, in their needleſſe burning of candles; and amongſt the Proteſtants, in the poore means of their Miniſters. And what if ſome turn the ſpurres unto Virtue into the ſtirrups of Pride, grow idle, and inſolent? let them ſoundly ſuffer for it themſelves on Gods bleſsing; but let not the bees be ſterved that the drones may be puniſhed.

Miniſters Maintenance ought to be certain; leſt ſome of them meet with Labans for their Patrons and pariſhioners; changing their wages ten times; and at laſt, if the fear of God doth not fright them, ſend them away empty. 7

It is unequall that there ſhould be an equality betwixt all Miniſters Maintenance. Except that firſt there were made an equality betwixt all their Parts, Pains, and Piety. Parity in means will quickly bring a levell and flat in Learning; and few will ſtrive to be ſuch ſpirituall Muſicians, to whom David directeth many Pſalms, *To him that excelleth*, but will even content themſelves with a Canonicall ſufficiency, and deſiring no more then what the Law requires: More learning would be of more pains, and the ſame profit, ſeeing the *mediocriter* goeth abreaſt with *optime*. 8

Ob. But neither the beſt, nor the moſt painfull and learned get the beſt preferment. Sometimes men of the leaſt, get Livings of the beſt worth; yea ſuch as are not worthy to be the curates to their curates, and *craſſa Ingenia* go away with *opima Sacerdotia*.

Anſw. Thus it ever was, and will be. But is this duſt onely to be found in Churches, and not in Civill Courts! Is merit every where elſe made the exact ſquare of preferment? or did ever any urge, that all Offices ſhould be made champian for their profits, none higher then other?

other? ſuch corruptions will ever be in the Church, except there were a Law (ridiculous to be made, and impoſsible to be kept) that men ſhould be no men, but that all Patrons or people in their Election or Preſentations of Miniſters ſhould wholly deveſt themſelves of by-reſpects of kinred, friendſhip, profit, affection, and merely chuſe for deſert: and then ſhould we have all things ſo well ordered, ſuch Paſtours and ſuch people, the Church in a manner would be Triumphant, whileſt Militant. Till then, though the beſt livings light not alwayes on the ableſt men, yet as long as there be ſuch preferments in the Church, there are ſtill encouragements for men to endeavour to excell, all hoping, and ſome hapning on advancement.

Ob. But Miniſters ought to ſerve God merely for love of himſelf; and pity but his eyes were out that ſquints at his own ends in doing Gods work.

Anſw. Then ſhould Gods beſt Saints be blind; for Moſes himſelf had *an eye to the recompence of reward.* Yea Miniſters may look not onely on their eternall but on their temporall reward, as motives to quicken their endeavours. And though it be true, that grave and pious men do ſtudy for learning ſake, and embrace virtue for it ſelf, yet it is as true that youth (which is the ſeaſon when learning is gotten) is not without ambition, nor will ever take pains to excell in any thing, when there is not ſome hope of excelling others in reward and dignity. And what reaſon is it that whileſt Law and Phyſick bring great portions to ſuch as marry them, Divinity their elder ſiſter ſhould onely be put off with her own beauty; In after ages men will rather bind their ſonnes to one gainfull, then to ſeven liberall Sciences: onely the loweſt of the people would be made Miniſters, which cannot otherwiſe ſubſiſt; and it will be bad when Gods Church is made a Sanctuary onely for men of deſperate eſtates to take refuge in it.

However

However let every Miniſter take up this reſolution, *To preach the word, to be inſtant in ſeaſon, out of ſeaſon, reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-ſuffering & doctrine.* If thou haſt competent means comfortably to ſubſiſt on, be the more thankfull to God the fountain, to man the channell; painfull in thy place, pitifull to the poore, cheerfull in ſpending ſome, carefull in keeping the reſt. If not, yet tire not for want of a ſpurre: do ſomething for love, and not all for money; for love of God, of goodneſſe, of the godly, of a good conſcience. Know't is better to want means, then to detain them; the one onely ſuffers, the other deeply ſinnes: and it is as dangerous a perſecution to religion, to draw the fewell from it, as to caſt water on it. Comfort thy ſelf that another world will pay this worlds debts, *and great is thy reward with God in heaven.* A reward, in reſpect of his promiſe; a gift, in reſpect of thy worthleſneſſe: And yet the leſſe thou lookeſt at it, the ſurer thou ſhalt find it, if labouring with thy ſelf to ſerve God for himſelf, in reſpect of whom even heaven it ſelf is but a ſiniſter end.

To the Reader.

THeſe Generall Rules we have placed in the middle, that the Books on both ſides may equally reach to them; becauſe all Perſons therein are indifferently concerned.

The Holy State.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

The Favourite.

A Favourite is a Court-diall, whereon all look whileſt the King ſhines on him, and none, when it is night with him. A Minion differs from a Favourite: for He acts things by his own will and appetite, as a Favourite by the judgement and pleaſure of his Prince. Theſe again are twofold: either ſuch as relie wholly on their Kings favour, or ſuch as the King partly relies on their wiſdome, loving them rather for uſe then affection. The former are like pretty wands in a Princes hand, for him to play with at pleaſure; the latter, like ſtaves, whereon he leans and ſupports himſelf in State-affairs.

Maxime 1

God is the originall Patron of all preferment, all dignities being in his diſpoſall. Promotion (* ſaith David) *comes neither from the Eaſt, nor from the Weſt, nor yet from the South.* The word here tranſlated *South*, in the Hebrew ſignifies the Deſert; and ſuch a courſe liſt bounded Paleſtine both on the South and * North ſo that in effect preferment bloweth from no point of the Compaſſe. True, every man is, *fortunæ ſuæ faber*, the Smith to beat out his own fortunes; but God firſt doth give him coals, iron, and anvil before he can ſet up his trade.

* *Pſal.* 75. 7.

* *Tremellius on the verſe.*

The firſt inlet into a Princes knowledge is half way into his favour. 2

Indeed the heat of the ſunne pierceth into the innermoſt bowells of the earth, but onely the ſurface thereof is guilded with his beams: So though the influence of the Princes protection reacheth the utmoſt and obſcureſt man in his dominions, yet onely ſome few, who lie on the top of the heap of his ſubjects, can be graced with his favour. He therefore that is known to his Prince, ſtarts in the half way of his race to honour. A notable fellow, and a ſouldier to Alexander, finding this firſt admiſsion to be the greateſt difficulty, put feathers into his noſe and eares, and danced about the Court in an antique faſhion, till the ſtrangeneſſe of the Shew brought the King himſelf to be a ſpectatour. Then this Mimick throwing off his diſguize, *Sr* (ſaid he to the King) *thus I firſt arrive at your Majeſties notice in the faſhion of a fool, but can do you ſervice in the place of a wiſe-man, if you pleaſe to employ me.*

3 *'Tis the eaſier for them to leap into preferment, who have the riſe of noble bloud*: Such get their honour with more eaſe, and keep it with leſſe envie, which is buſieſt in maligning of upſtarts. Nor is it any hinderance unto him, but rather an advantage, if ſuch a Nobleman be of an ancient family, decayed in ſtate through the fault of his Anceſtours; for ſuch, Princes count the object as well of their pity as favour, and it an act as well of charity as bounty to relieve and raiſe them: But thoſe are in ſome ſort born Favourites, and ſucceed by deſcent to a Princes affection (rather as a debt then a gift) whoſe parents have formerly ſuffered in the Princes or his predeceſſours behalf. This made Queen Elizabeth firſt reflect on the Lord Norris, (for in the peaceable beginning of her reigne the Martiall ſpirits of his ſonne were not yet raiſed) becauſe his father dyed her mothers Martyr, to atteſt her innocencie in the reigne of King Henry the eighth.

4 *Severall doores open to preferment, but the King keeps the key of them all.* Some have been advanced for their Faces, their Beauty; their Heads, their Wiſdome; their Tongues, their Eloquence; their Hands, their Valour; their Bloud, their Nobility; their Feet,

Feet, their Nimbleneſſe, and Comlineſſe in dancing; but all is ultimately reſolv'd on the Princes pleaſure.

Happpy the Favourite that is raiſed without the ruine of another: as thoſe which ſucceed in a dead place, who draw leſſe envy of competitours, in keeping others out of the Kings favour, then thoſe that caſt one out of the paſsions thereof. Alſo he that climbeth up by degrees ſtands more firmly in favour, as making his footing good as he goes. 5

Sometimes the Princes favour is all the known worth in the Favourite. I ſay, *known*: for he is an Infidel that believes not more then he ſees, and that a rationall Prince will love where he ſees no lovelineſſe. Surely Charles the ninth of France beheld ſome worth in Albertus Tudius (an Huckſters ſonne, to whom in five years, beſides other honours, he gave ſix hundred thouſand crowns) though ſome affirm all the good the King got by him, was to learn to * ſwear by the Name of God. Except we will ſay, that Kings deſire in ſome to ſhew as the abſoluteneſſe of their power, to raiſe them from nothing, ſo of their will alſo, to advance them for nothing. But Princes have their grounds reard above the flats of common men, and who will ſearch the reaſons of their actions muſt ſtand on an equall baſis with them. 6

*Camerarius, med. Hiſt. cap. 4.

Some Kings to make a jeſt have advanced a man in earneſt. When amongſt many Articles exhibited to King Henrie the ſeventh by the Iriſh againſt the Earl of Kildare, the laſt was, * *Finally, all Ireland cannot rule this Earl. Then* (quoth the King) *ſhall this Earl rule all Ireland*; and made him Deputie thereof. But ſuch accidents are miraculous; and he ſhall ſterve that will not eat till ſuch Manna is dropt into his mouth. 7

* *Camb. Rem. pag. 271.*

But by what lawfull means ſoever he hath gotten his advancement, he ſtandeth but in a ſlippery place; and therefore needs conſtantly to wear ice-ſpurres, for he rather glides then goes, and is in continuall fear to be cruſh'd from above by his Princes anger, and undermin'd from beneath by his fellow-ſubjects envie. Againſt both which ſee how he fenceth himſelf. 8

9 *He prayseth God for preferring him, and prayeth to him to preserve him.* His Greatnesse must needs fall which is not founded in Goodnesse. First he serveth his God in heaven, and then his Master on earth. The best way to please all, or to displease them with least danger, is to please him who is all in all.

10 *Next he studieth the alphabet of his Princes disposition*: whose inclination when found out is half fitted. Then he applyes himself to please his naturall, though not vitious, humours, never preferring himself before his Prince in any thing, wherein he desires or conceiveth himself to excell. Nero, though indeed but a Fidler, counted himself as well Emperour of Musick as of Rome; and his Followers too grossely did sooth him up in the admiration of his skill in that Art. But the most temperate Princes love to taste the sweetnesse of their own praises (if not overluscious with flattery) where their own deserts lay the groundwork, and their Favourites give the varnish to their commendations.

11 *Bluntnesse of speech hath becom'd some, and made them more acceptable*: Yea this hath been counted Freeheartednesse, in Courtiers; Conscience and Christian simplicity, in Clergiemen: Valour, in Souldiers. *I love thee the better* (said Queen Elizabeth to Archbishop Grindall) *because you live unmarried. And I, Madam,* (replyed Grindall) *because you live unmarried love you the worse.* But those, who make musick with so harsh an instrument, need have their bow well rosend before, and to observe Time and Place, lest that gall which would tickle at other times.

12 *He leaveth his Prince alwayes with an appetite, and never gluts him with his company.* Sometimes taking occasion to depart, whilest still his staying might be welcome. Such intermissions render him more gratious; yet he absents himself neither farre, nor long, lest he might seem to neglect. Though he doth not alwayes spurre up close to the Kings side (to be constantly in his presence) he never lagges so farre behind, as to be out of distance. Long absence hath drawn the curtain betwixt a Favourite and his Sovereigne, and thereby

by hath made room for others to ſtep in betwixt them.

13 *He doth not boldly engroſſe and limit his Maſters favour to himſelf.* He is willing his Prince ſhould ſhine beſide him, but eſpecially thorow him, on others. Too covetous are they who, not content to be ſole heirs to their Princes favour, grudge that any penſions ſhould be allotted to their younger brethren. Why ſhould it not as well be Treaſon to confine a Princes affection, as to impriſon his perſon?

14 *He makes provident yet moderate uſe of his Maſters favour.* Eſpecially if he be of a various nature, and loveth exchange, counting it not to ſtand with the ſtate of a King to wear a Favourite thredbare. Too blame they, who thinking it will be continuall ſummer with them (as in the countrey under the Æquator) will not ſo much as froſtnip their ſouls with a cold thought of want hereafter, and provide neither to oblige others, nor to maintain themſelves: As bad they on the other ſide, who like thoſe who have a leaſe, without impeachment of waſte, ſpeedily to expire, whip and ſtrip, and rap and rend, whatſoever can come to their fingers.

15 *He makes his eſtate inviſible by purchaſing reverſions, and in remote countreys.* He hath a moderate eſtate in open view, that the world may ſettle their looks on't (for if they ſee nothing they will ſuſpect the more) and the reſt farre off and hereafter. The eyes of envy can never bewitch that which it doth not ſee. Theſe Reverſions will be ripe for his heir, by that time his heir ſhall be ripe for them, and the money of diſtracted revennues will meet entirely in one purſe.

16 *Having attained to a competent height, he had rather grow a buttreſſe broader, then a ſtorie higher.* He forttfieth himſelf by raiſing outworks, and twiſting himſelf by intermarriages of his kinred in noble Families: his Countenance will give all his Kinſwomen beauty. Some Favourites, whoſe heels have been tript up by their adverſaries, have with their hands held on their Allies, till they could recover their feet again.

17 *He makes not Great men dance envidious attendance to ſpeak with him.* Oh whileſt their heels cool how do their hearts burn? Wherefore in the midſt of the Term of his buſineſſe he

makes himself a vacation to speak with them. Indeed some difficulty of accesse and conference begets a reverence towards them in common people (who will suspect the ware not good if cheap to come by) and therefore he values himself in making them to wait: Yet he loves not to over-linger any in an afflicting hope, but speedily dispatcheth the tears or desires of his expecting Clients.

18 *He loveth a good name, but will not wooe or court it otherwise, then as it is an attendant on honesty and virtue.* But chiefly he avoydeth the sweet poyson of Popularity, wherewith some have swollen till they have broken. Especially, he declines the entertainment of many Martialists, the harsh counsell of souldiers being commonly untunable to the Court-way. The immoderate resorting of military men to a Favourite (chiefly if by any palliation he pretends to the Crown) is like the flocking of so many ravens and vulturs which foretell his funerall.

19 *He preserves all inferiour Officers in the full rights and priviledges of their places.* Some are so boysterous, no severalls will hold them, but lay all Offices common to their power, or else are so busie, that making many circles in other mens professions, they raise up ill spirits in them, and for every finger they needlessely thrust into other mens matters, shall find an hand against them, when occasion shall serve. As bad are they, who leaping over meaner persons to whom the businesse is proper, bring it *per saltum* to themselves, not suffering matters to run along in a legall channell, but in a by-ditch of their own cutting, so drawing the profit to themselves, which they drein from others.

20 *If accused by his adversaries, he flies with speed to his Princes person.* No better covert for a hunted Favourite to take to: where if innocent, with his loyall breath he easily dispels all vapours of ill suggestions; if guilty, yet he is half acquitted, because judged by the Prince himself, whose compassion he moves by an ingenuous confession. But if this Sanctuary-doore be bolted against him, then his ruine is portended, and not long after.

He

He is a fiſh on the dry ſhore when the tide of his Maſters love hath left him; ſo that if he be not the more wiſe, he will be made a prey to the next that finds him. Severall are the cauſes of Favourites falls, proceeding either from the Kings pleaſure, their enemies malice, or their own default: different the degrees and manner of their ruine: ſome when grown too great are ſhifted under honourable colours of employment into a forrein aire, there to purge and leſſen; others receive their condemnation at home. But how bad ſoever his caſt be, ſee how he betters it by good playing it. 21

He ſubmits himſelf, without conteſting, to the pleaſure of his Prince. For being a Tenant at will to the favour of his Sovereigne, it is vain to ſtrive to keep violent poſſeſsion when his Landlord will out him. Such ſtruggling makes the hook of his enemies malice ſtrike the deeper into him. And whileſt his adverſaries ſpurre him with injuries on purpoſe to make him ſpring out into rebellious practices, he reins in his paſsions with the ſtronger patience. 22

If he muſt down, he ſeeks to fall eaſily, and if poſsible, to light on his legs. If ſtript out of his robes, he ſtrives to keep his clothes; looſing his honour, yet to hold his lands, if not them, his life; and thanks his Prince for giving him whatſoever he takes not away from him. 23

To conclude, A Favourite is a trade, whereof he that breaks once ſeldome ſets up again. Rare are the examples of thoſe who have compounded and thrived well afterwards. Mean men are like underwood, which the Law calls *ſylva cædua, quæ* * *ſuccisa renaſcitur*, being cut down it may ſpring again, but Favourites are like okes, which ſcarce thrive after (to make timber) being lopt, but if once cut down never grow more. If we light on any who have flouriſhed the ſecond time, impute it to their Princes pleaſures to croſſe the common obſervation, and to ſhew that nothing is paſt cure with ſo great a chirurgion, who can even ſet a broken Favourite.

* *Lynwood lib. 3. cap.* Quanquam exſolventibus.

Now to ſhew the inconſtancie of Greatneſſe not ſupported with virtue, we will firſt inſiſt in a remarkable pattern in

in holy Scripture. Next will we produce a parallel of two Favourites in our Engliſh Court, living in the ſame time, and height of honour with their Sovereigne, the one through his vitiouſneſſe. ending in miſery, the other by his virtuous demeaner ſhining bright to his death: for I count it a wrong to our Countrey to import preſidents out of forrein Hiſtories, when our home-Chronicles afford us as plentifull and proper examples.

Chap. 2.

The life of Haman.

HAman the ſonne of Amedatha, of the kinred of Agag, and people of Amalek, was highly favoured by Ahaſuerus Emperour of Perſia. I find not what pretious properties he had, ſure he was a pearl in the eye of Ahaſuerus, who commanded all his ſubjects to do lowly reverence unto him : onely Mordecai the Jew excepted himſelf from that rule, denying him the payment of ſo humble an obſervance.

I fathome not the depth of Mordecai's refuſall : perchance Haman interpreted this reverence farther then it was intended, as a divine honour, and therefore Mordecai would not blow wind into ſo empty a bladder, and be acceſſary to puff him up with ſelf-conceit ; or becauſe Amalek was the devils firſt-fruits, which firſt brake the peace with Iſrael, and God commanded an antipathy againſt them; or he had ſome private countermand from God not to reverence him. What ever it was, I had rather accuſe my ſelf of ignorance, then Modecai of pride.

Haman ſwells at this neglect. Will not his knees bow? his neck ſhall break with an halter. But oh, this was but poore and private revenge : one lark will not fill the belly of ſuch a vultur. What if Mordecai will not ſtoop to Haman, muſt Haman ſtoop to Mordecai to be revenged of him alone ?

alone? wherefore he plotteth with the Kings ſword to cut off the whole Nation of the Jews.

Repairing to Ahaſuerus, he requeſted that all the Jews might be deſtroyed. He backs his petition with three arguments: firſt, It was a ſcattered Nation; had they inhabited one entire conntrey, their extirpation would have weakned his empire, but being diſperſed, though kill'd every where, they would have been miſſed no where; ſecondly, his Empire would be more uniform when this irregular people, not obſerving his Laws, were taken away; thirdly, ten thouſand talents Haman would pay into the bargain into the Kings Treaſure.

What, out of his own purſe? I ſee his pride was above his covetouſneſſe; and ſpightfull men count their revenge a purchaſe which cannot be overbought: or perchance this money ſhould ariſe out of the confiſcation of their goods. Thus Ahaſuerus ſhould lock all the Jews into his cheſt, and by help of Hamans Chymiſtry convert them into ſilver.

See how this grand deſtroyer of a whole Nation pleads the Kings profit. Thus our punie depopulatours alledge for their doings the Kings and countreys good; and we will believe them, when they can perſwade us that their private coffers are the Kings exchequer. But never any wounded the Common-wealth, but firſt they kiſſ'd it, pretending the publick good.

Hamans ſilver is droſſe with Ahaſuerus: onely his pleaſure is currant with him. If Haman will have it ſo, ſo it ſhall freely be; he will give him him and not ſell him his favour. 'Tis wofull when great Judges ſee parties accuſed by other mens eyes, but condemne them by their own mouthes: and now Poſts were ſent thorow out all Perſia to execute the Kings cruell decree.

I had almoſt forgotten how before this time Mordecai had diſcovered the treaſon, which two of the Kings Chamberlains had plotted againſt him; which good ſervice of his, though not preſently paid, yet was ſcored up in the Chronicles,

Chronicles, not rewarded but recorded, where it ſlept till a due occaſion did awake it. Perchance Hamans envy kept it from the Kings knowledge; and Princes ſometimes to reward the deſert of men want not mind, but minding of it.

To proceed: See the Jews all pitifully penſive, and faſting in ſackcloth and aſhes, even to Queen Eſther her ſelf, which (unknown to Haman) was one of that nation. And to be brief, Eſther invites Ahaſuerus and Haman to a banquet (whoſe life ſhall pay the reckoning) and next day they are both invited to a ſecond entertainment.

Mean time Haman provides a gallows of fifty cubits high to hang Mordecai on. Five cubits would have ſerv'd the turn; and had it took effect, the height of the gallows had but ſet his ſoul ſo much the farther on his journey towards heaven. His ſtomach was ſo ſharp ſet, he could not ſtay till he had din'd on all the Jews, but firſt he muſt break his faſt on Mordecai; and fit it was this bell-weather ſhould be ſacrificed before the reſt of the flock; wherefore he comes to the Court to get leave to put him to death.

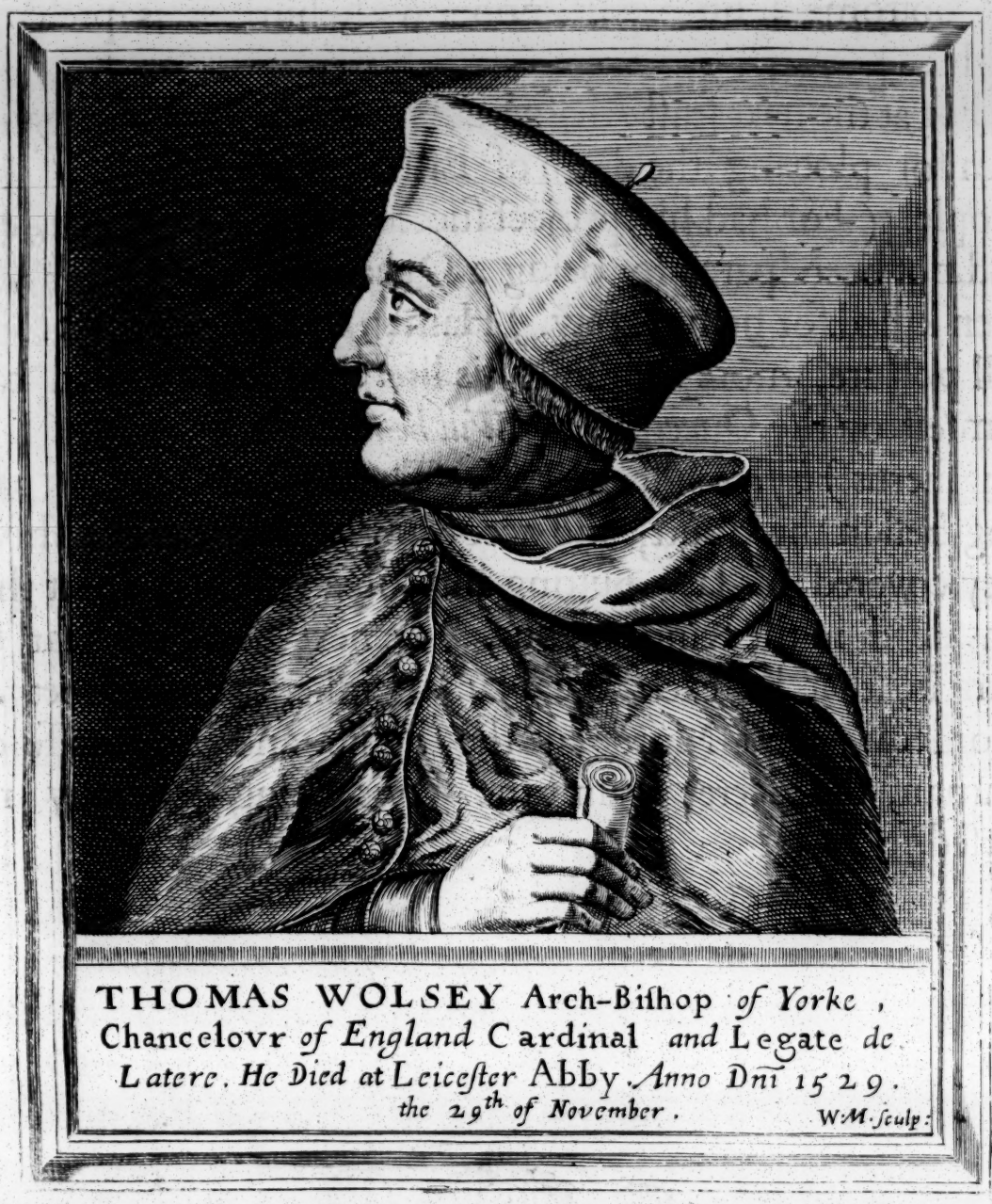
The night before Ahaſuerus had paſſed without ſleep. The Chronicles are called for, either to invite ſlumber, or to entertain waking with the leſſe tediouſneſſe. Gods hand in the margin points the Reader to the place where Mordecai's good ſervice was related; and Ahaſuerus asketh Haman (newly come into the preſence) what ſhall be done to the man whom the King will honour?

Haman being now (as he thought) to meaſure his own happineſſe, had been much too blame if he made it not of the largeſt ſize. He cuts out a garment of honour, royall both for matter and making, for Mordecai to wear. By the Kings command he becomes Mordecai's Herauld and Page, lacquying by him riding on the Kings ſteed, (who he hoped by this time ſhould have mounted the wooden horſe) and then penſive in heart, haſts home to bemoan himſelf to his friends. Hamans wife proves a true Propheteſſe, preſaging his ruine. If the feet of a Favourite begin to ſlip on the ſteep

hill

hill of Honour, his own weight will down with him to the bottome : once paſt noon with him, it is preſently night.

For at the next feaſt Ahaſuerus is mortally incenſ'd againſt him for plotting the death of Eſther, with the reſt of her people. (For had his project ſucceeded, probably the Jew had not been ſpared for being a Queen, but the Queen had been killed for being a Jew.) Haman in a careleſſe ſorrowfull poſture, more minding his life then his luſt, had caſt himſelf on the Queens bed. *Will he force the Queen alſo* (ſaid Ahaſuertus) *before me in the houſe* ? Theſe words rang his paſſing-bell in the Court, and according to the Perſian faſhion they covered his face, putting him in a winding ſheet that was dead in the Kings favour. The next news we hear of him is, that by exchange Haman inherits the gibbet of Mordecai, and Mordecai the houſe and greatneſſe of Haman, the decree againſt the Jews being generally reverſed.



THOMAS WOLSEY Arch-Biſhop *of Yorke*, Chancelovr *of England* Cardinal *and* Legate *de Latere*. *He Died at* Leiceſter Abby *Anno Dñi* 1529. *the* 29th *of November*. W.M. *ſculp:*

Chap. 3.

The life of Card. Wolsey.

THomas Wolſey was born at Ipſwich in Suffolk, whoſe father was a Butcher, and an * honeſt man, and was there brought up at ſchool, where afterwards he built a beautifull Colledge. From Ipſwich he went to Oxford, and from thence was preferred to be Schoolmaſter to the Marques of Dorſet's children, where he firſt learnt to be imperious over Noble bloud. By the ſtairs of a Parſonage or two he climbed up at laſt into the notice of Fox, Biſhop of Winchester, and was received to be his Secretary. There

* Parentem habuit virum probum at lanium, *Pol. Virgil. p.* 633.

There was at that time a faction at Court betwixt Bishop Fox and Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey. The Bishop being very old was scarce able to make good his party; yet it grieved him not so much to stoop to Nature as to the Earl his Corrivall: wherefore not able to manage the matter himself, he was contented to be the stock whereon Wolsey should be graffed, whom he made heir to his favour, commending him to King Henrie the seventh for one fit to serve a King, and command others: And hereupon he was entertained at Court.

Soon after, when Henrie his sonne came to the Crown, Wolsey quickly found the length of his foot, and fitted him with an easie shoe. He perswaded him that it was good accepting of pleasure whilest youth tender'd it: let him follow his sports, whilest Wolsey would undertake every night briefly to represent unto him all matters of moment which had passed the Counsell-table. For Princes are to take State-affairs not in the masse and whole bulk of them, but onely the spirits thereof skilfully extracted. And hereupon the King referred all matters to Wolsey's managing, on whom he conferr'd the Bishopricks of Duresme, Wincheſter, and York, with some other spirituall promotions.

Nothing now hindred Wolsey's prospect to overlook the whole Court but the head of Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, who was high in birth, honour, and estate. For as for Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, he stood not in Wolsey's way, but rather besides then against him: Brandon being the Kings companion in pleasures, Wolsey his counsellour in policy; Brandon Favourite to Henrie, Wolsey to the King. Wolsey takes this Buckingham to task, who (otherwise a brave Gentleman) was proud and popular; and that tower is easily undermin'd whose foundation is hollow. His own folly with Wolsey's malice overthrew him. Vainglory ever lyeth at an open guard, and giveth much advantage of play to her enemies. The Duke is condemned of high treason, though rather corrivall with the King for his Clothes then his Crown, being excessively brave in apparell.

The ax that kills Buckingham frights all others, who turn conteſting into complying with our Archbiſhop, now Cardinall, Legate *à latere,* and Lord-Chancellour. All the Judges ſtood at the barre of his devotion. His diſpleaſure more feared then the Kings, whoſe anger though violent was placable; the Cardinalls of leſſe furie, but more malice: yet in matters of Judicature he behaved himſelf commendably. I heare no widows ſighes, nor ſee orphans tears in our Chronicles cauſed by him: ſure in ſuch caſes wherein his private ends made him not a party, he was an excellent Juſticer, as being too proud to be bribed, and too ſtrong to be overborn.

Next he aſpires to the Triple Crown; he onely wants Holineſſe, and muſt be Pope. Yet was it a great labour for a Tramountain to climbe over the Alps to S. Peters Chair; a long leap from York to Rome, and therefore he needed to take a good riſe. Beſides he uſed Charles the fifth, Emperour, for his ſtaff, gold he gave to the Romiſh Cardinalls, and they gave him golden promiſes, ſo that at laſt Wolſey perceived, both the Emperour and the Court of Rome delay'd and deluded him.

He is no fox whoſe den hath but one hole: Wolſey finding this way ſtopt, goes another way to work, and falls off to the French King, hoping by his help to obtain his deſires. However if he help not himſelf, he would hinder Charles the Emperours deſignes; and revenge is a great preferment. Wherefore covertly he ſeeks to make a divorce betwixt Queen Katherine, Dowager, the Emperours Aunt, and King Henrie the eighth his Maſter.

Queen Katharines age was above her Husbands, her gravity above her age; more pious at her beads then pleaſant in her bed, a better woman then a wife, and a fitter wife for any Prince then King Henrie. Wolſey by his inſtruments perſwades the King to put her away, pleading they were ſo contiguous and near in kinred, they might not be made continuous (one fleſh) in marriage, becauſe ſhe before had been wife to Prince Arthur the Kings brother. Beſides,

the

the King wanted a male heir, which he much desired.

Welcome whisperings are quickly heard. The King embraceth the motion: the matter is enter'd in the Romish Court, but long delayed; the Pope first meaning to divorce most of the gold from England in this tedious suit. But here Wolsey miscarried in the Masterpiece of his policy. For he hoped upon the divorce of King Henrie from Queen Katharine his wife (which with much adoe was effected) to advance a marriage betwixt him and the King of France his sister, thinking with their nuptiall ring to wed the King of France eternally to himself, and mould him for farther designes: whereas contrary to his expectation King Henrie fell in love with Anna Bullen, a Lady whose beauty exceeded her birth (though honourable) wit her beauty, piety all; one for his love not lust, so that there was no gathering of green fruit from her till marriage had ripened it; whereupon the King took her to wife.

Not long after followed the ruine of the Cardinall, caused by his own vitiousnesse, heightned by the envy of his Adversaries. He was caught in a Premunire for procuring to be Legate *de latere*, and advancing the Popes power against the Laws of the Realm; and eight other Aiticles were framed against him, for which we report the Reader to our * Chronicles. The main was, his *Ego & Rex meus*, wherein he remembred his old profession of a Schoolmaster, and forgot his present estate of a Statesman. But as for some things laid to his charge, his friends plead, that where potent malice is Promoter, the accusations shall not want proof, though the proof may want truth. Well, the broad seal was taken from him, and some of his spirituall Preferments. Yet was he still left Bishop of Winchester, and Archbishop of York, so that the Kings goodnesse hitherto might have seemd rather to ease him of burthensome greatnesse, then to have deprived him of wealth or honour: which whether he did out of love to Wolsey, or fear of the Pope, I interpose no opinion.

* *Fox Acts & Monuments, pag. 996.*

Home now went Wolsey into Yorkshire, and lived at

his Mannour of Cawood, where he wanted nothing the heart of man could desire for contentment. But great minds count every place a prison, which is not a Kings Court; and just it was that he which would not see his own happinesse, should therefore feel his own misery. He provided for his enstalling Archbishop State equivalent to a Kings Coronation, which his ambition revived other of his misdemeanours, and by command from the King he was arrested by the Earl of Northumberland, and so took his journeys up to London. By the way his soul was rackt betwixt different tidings; now hoysed up with hope of pardon, then instantly let down with news of the Kings displeasure, till at Leicester his heart was broken with these sudden and contrary motions. The Storie goes that he should breath out his soul with speeches to this effect, *Had I been as carefull to serve the God of Heaven, as I have to comply to the will of my earthly King, God would not have left me in mine old age, as the other hath done.*

His body swell'd after his death, as his mind did whilest he was living, which with other symptomes gave the suspicion that he poysoned himself. It will suffice us to observe, If a Great man much beloved dyeth suddenly, the report goes that others poysoned him: If he be generally hated, then that he poysoned himself. Sure never did a Great man fall with lesse pity. Some of his own servants with the feathers they got under him flew to other Masters. Most of the Clergy (more pitying his Profession then Person) were glad that the felling of this oke would cause the growth of much underwood.

Let Geomitricians measure the vastnesse of his mind by the footsteps of his Buildings, Christ-Church White-Hall, Hampton-Court: And no wonder if some of these were not finished, seeing his life was rather broken off then ended. Sure King Henrie lived in two of his houses, and lies now in the third, I mean his Tombe at Windsor. In a word, in his prime he was the bias of the Christian world, drawing the bowl thereof to what side he pleased.

Chap. 4.

The life of Charles Brandon, *Duke of Suffolk.*

CHarles Brandon was ſonne to Sr. William Brandon, Standerd-bearer to King Henry the ſeventh, in whoſe quarrell he was ſlain in Boſworth field; wherefore the King counted himſelf bound in honour and conſcience to favour young Charles, whoſe father ſpent his laſt breath to blow him to the haven of victory, and cauſed him to be brought up with Prince Henrie, his ſecond ſonne.

The intimacy betwixt them took deep impreſsion in their tender years, which hardned with continuance of time proved indeleble. It was advanced by the ſympathy of their active ſpirits (men of quick and large-ſtriding minds loving to walk together) not to ſay, that the looſeneſſe of their youthfull lives made them the faſter friends. Henry, when afterwards King, heaped honours upon him, created him Viſcount Liſle, and Duke of Suffolk.

Not long after ſome of the Engliſh Nobility got leave to go to the publick Tilting in Paris, and there behav'd themſelves right valiantly, though the ſullen French would ſcarce ſpeak a word in their praiſe. For they conceived it would be an eternall impoveriſhing of the credit of their Nation, if the honour of the day ſhould be exported by foreiners. But Brandon bare away the credit from all, fighting at Barriers with a giant Almain, till he made an earth-quake in that mountain of fleſh, making him reel and * ſtagger, and many other courſes as Tilt he performed to admiration. Yea, the Lords beheld him not with more envious, then the Ladies with gracious eyes, who darted more glaunces in love, then the other ranne ſpears in anger againſt him; eſpecially Mary the French Queen, and ſiſter to King Henry the eighth, who afterward proved his wife.

* *Hollinſhed, pag. 833.*

For after the death of Lewis the twelfth her husband, King

Henry her brother imployed Charles Brandon to bring her over into England; who improved his ſervice ſo well that he got her good will to marrie her. Whether his affections were ſo ambitious to climbe up to her, or hers ſo courteous as to deſcend to him (who had been * twice a widower before) let youthfull pennes diſpute it: it ſufficeth us, both met together. Then wrote he in humble manner to requeſt King Henries leave to marrie his ſiſter; but knowing that matters of this nature are never ſure till finiſht, and that leave is ſooner got to do ſuch attempts when done already; and wiſely conſidering with himſelf that there are but few dayes in the Almanack, wherein ſuch *Marriages come in*, and ſubjects have opportunity to wed Queens, he firſt married her * privately in Paris.

**First married to Margaret Nevil, after to Anne, daughter to Sr Anthony Brown.*

** Hollinſhed, pag. 836.*

King Henrie after the acting of ſome anger, and ſhewing ſome ſtate-diſcontent, was quickly contented therewith; yea the world conceiveth that he *gave this woman to be married to this man*, in ſending him on ſuch an imployment. At Calis they were afterward re-married, or if you will their former private marriage publickly ſolemniz'd, and coming into England liv'd many years in honour and eſteem, no leſſe dear to his fellow-ſubjects then his Sovereigne. we was often imployed Generall in Martiall affairs, eſpecially in the warres betwixt the Engliſh and French, though the greateſt performance on both ſides was but mutuall indenting the Dominions each of other with inrodes.

When the divorce of King Henrie from Queen Katharine was ſo long in agitation, Brandon found not himſelf a little agrieved at the Kings expence of time and money: for the Court of Rome in ſuch matters, wherein money is gotten by delayes, will make no more ſpeed then the beaſt in Braſil, which the Spaniards call *Pigritia*, which goes no farther in a fortnight then a man will caſt a ſtone. Yea Brandon well perceived that Cardinall Campeius and Wolſey in their Court at Bridewell, wherein the divorce was judicially handled, intended onely to produce a ſolemn Nothing, their Court being but the clock ſet according to the diall at Rome,

Rome, and the inſtructions received thence. Wherefore knocking on the table, in the preſence of the two Cardinalls, he bound it with an oath, That *It was never well in England ſince Cardinalls had any thing to do therein* : And from that time forward, as an active inſtrument, he indeavoured the aboliſhing of the Popes power in England.

For he was not onely (as the Papiſts complain * of him) a principall agent in that Parliament, *Anno* 1534. wherein the Popes ſupremacy was abrogated, but alſo a main means of the overturning of Abbeys, as conceiving that though the head was ſtruck off, yet as long as that neck and thoſe ſhoulders remained, there would be a continuall appetite of reuniting themſelves. Herein his thoughts were more pure from the mixture of covetouſneſſe then many other imployed in the ſame ſervice : For after that our eyes, juſtly dazled at firſt with the brightneſſe of Gods Juſtice on thoſe vitious fraternities, have ſomewhat recovered themſelves, they will ſerve us to ſee the greedy appetites of ſome inſtruments to feed on Church morſels.

* *Sanderſ. de Schiſmate Anglicano, pag.* 108.

He lived and dyed in the full favour of his Prince, though as Cardinall Pool obſerved, they who were higheſt in this Kings favour, their heads were neareſt danger. Indeed King Henrie was not very tender in cutting off that joynt ; and in his Reigne the ax was ſeldome wiped, before wetted again with Noble bloud. He dyed *Anno* 1544. much beloved, and lamented of all, for his bounty, humility, valour, and all noble virtues, ſince the heat of his youth was tamed in his reduced age, and lies buried at Windſor.

Chap. 5.

The wiſe Stateſman.

TO deſcribe the Stateſman at large, is the ſubject rather of a Volume then a Chapter, and is as farre beyond my power, as wide of my profeſsion. We will not lanch into

into the deep, but ſatisfie our ſelves to ſail by the ſhore, and briefly obſerve his carriage towards God, his King, himſelf, home-perſons, and forein Princes.

Maxime 1 *He counts the fear of God the beginning of wiſdome*; and therefore eſteemeth no project profitable, which is not lawfull; nothing politick, which croſſeth piety. Let not any plead for the contrary Huſhai's dealing with Abſalom, which ſtrongly ſavour'd of double-dealing; for what is a queſtion cannot be an argument, ſeeing the lawfulneſſe of his deed therein was never decided; and he is unwiſe that will venter the ſtate of his ſoul on the litigious title of ſuch an example. Beſides, we muſt live by Gods precepts, not by the godlies practice. And though God cauſeth ſometimes the ſunne of ſucceſſe to ſhine as well on bad as good projects, yet commonly wicked actions end in ſhame at the laſt.

2 *In giving counſell to his Prince, he had rather diſpleaſe then hurt him.* Plain-dealing is one of the daintieſt rarities can be preſented to ſome Princes, as being novelty to them all times of the yeare. The Philoſopher could ſay,* *Quid omnia poſſidentibus deeſt? Ille qui verum dicat.* Wherefore our Stateſman ſeeks to undeceive his Prince from the fallacies of flatterers, who by their plauſible perſwaſions have bolſter'd up their crooked counſells, to make them ſeem ſtraight in the Kings eyes.

* *Seneca de benefic. lib. 3. cap. 30.*

3 *Yet if diſſenting from his Sovereigne, he doth it with all humility, and moderation.* It is neither manners nor wit to croſſe Princes in their game, much leſſe in their ſerious affairs. Yea, it may be Rebellion in a ſubject to give his Sovereigne loyall counſell, if proceeding from a ſpirit of contradiction and contempt, and uttered in audacious language. What do theſe but give wholſome Phyſick, wrapt up in poyſoned papers?

4 *He is conſtant, but not obſtinate in the advice he gives.* Some think it beneath a wiſe man to alter their opinion: A maxime both falſe and dangerous. We know what worthy Father wrote his own Retractation; and it matters not though we go back from our word, ſo we go forward in the truth

and

and a ſound judgement. Such a one changeth not his main opinion, which ever was this, to embrace that courſe which upon mature deliberation ſhall appear unto him the moſt adviſed. As for his carriage towards himſelf,

He taketh an exact ſurvey of his own defects and perfections. 5
As for the former, his weakneſſes and infirmities he doth carefully and wiſely conceal: ſometimes he covers them over with a cautious confidence, and preſents a fair hilt, but keeps the ſword in the ſheath which wanteth an edge. But this he manageth with much art, otherwiſe, being betray'd, it would prove moſt ridiculous, and it would make brave muſick to his enemies, to heare the hiſsing of an empty bladder when it is prick'd.

His known perfections he ſeeks modeſtly to cloud and obſcure. 6
It is needleſſe to ſhew the ſunne ſhining, which will break out of it ſelf. Not like our Phantaſticks, who having a fine watch draw all occaſions to draw it out to be ſeen. Yea, becauſe ſometimes he concealeth his ſufficiency in ſuch things, wherein others know he hath ability, he ſhall therefore be thought at other times to have ability in thoſe matters wherein indeed he wants it, men interpreting him therein rather modeſtly to diſſemble, then to be defective. Yet when juſt occaſion is offer'd, he ſhews his perfections ſoundly, though ſeldome, and then graceth them out to the beſt advantage.

In diſcourſe he is neither too free, nor overreſerv'd but obſerves a mediocrity. 7
His hall is common to all comers, but his cloſet is lock'd. Generall matters he is as liberall to impart, as carefull to conceal importancies. Moderate liberty in ſpeech inviteth and provoketh liberty to be uſed again, where a conſtant cloſeneſſe makes all ſuſpect him: and his company is burthenſome that liveth altogether on the expences of others, and will lay out nothing himſelf. Yea, who will barter intelligence with him, that returns no conſiderable ware in exchange?

He truſteth not any with a ſecret which may endanger his eſtate. 8
For if he tells it to his ſervant, he makes him his maſter; if

to

to his friend, he enables him to be a foe, and to undo him at pleaſure, whoſe ſecrecy he muſt buy at the parties own price, and if ever he ſhuts his purſe, the other opens his mouth. Matters of inferiour conſequence he will communicate to a faſt friend, and crave his advice; for two eyes ſee more then one, though it be never ſo big, and ſet (as in Polyphemus) in the middeſt of the forehead.

9 *He is carefull and provident in the managing of his private eſtate.* Excellently * Ambroſe, *An idoneum putabo qui mihi det conſilium, qui non dat ſibi?* Well may Princes ſuſpect thoſe Stateſmen not to be wiſe in the buſineſſe of the Common-wealth, who are fools in ordering their own affairs. Our Politician, if he enlargeth not his own eſtate, at leaſt keeps it in good repair. As for avaricious courſes, he diſdaineth them. Sr Thomas More, though ſome years Lord-Chancellour of England, ſcarce left his ſonne * five and twenty pounds ayeare more then his father left him. And Sr Henrie Sidney (father to Sr Philip) being Lord Preſident of Wales and Ireland, got not * one foot of land in either Countrey, rather ſeeking after the common good then his private profit. I muſt confeſſe the laſt age produced an Engliſh Stateſman, who was the picklock of the cabinets of forein Princes, who, though the wiſeſt in his time and way, died poore and indebted to private men, though not ſo much as the whole Kingdome was indebted to him. But ſuch an accident is rare; and a ſmall Hoſpitall will hold thoſe Stateſmen who have impaired their means, not by their private careleſneſſe, but carefulneſſe for the publick. As for his carriage towards Home-perſons,

* *Lib. 2. de offic. cap.* 112.

* *Sanderſ. de Schiſm. Anglic. pag.* 118.

* *Henry Lhoid, in the beginning of his Welch Chronicle.*

10 *He ſtudieth mens natures, firſt reading the Title-pages of them by the report of Fame*: but credits not Fames relations to the full. Otherwiſe, as in London-exchange one ſhall overbuy wares, who gives half the price at firſt demanded, ſo he that believeth the moity of Fame may believe too much. Wherefore to be more accurate,

11 *He reads the Chapters of mens natures (chiefly his concurrents and competitours) by the reports of their friends and foes*, making allowance

allowance for their engagements, not believing all in the maſſe, but onely what he judiciouſly extracteth. Yet virtues confeſſ'd by their foes, and vices acknowledged by their friends, are commonly true. The beſt intelligence, if it can be obtained, is from a fugitive Privado.

But the moſt legible Character & trueſt Edition wherein he reads a man is in his own occaſionall openings: And that in theſe three caſes. 12

1 When the party diſcloſes himſelf in his wine: for though it be unlawfull to practiſe on any to make them drunk, yet no doubt one may make a good uſe of another mans abuſing himſelf. What they ſay of the herb Lunaria ceremoniouſly gathered at ſome ſet times, that laid upon any lock, it makes it flie open, is moſt true of drunkenneſſe, unbolting the moſt important ſecrets.

2 When he diſcovereth himſelf in his paſsions. Phyſicians to make ſome ſmall veins in their Patients arms plump and full, that they may ſee them the better to let them bloud, uſe to put thē into hot water: ſo the heat of paſsion preſenteth many inviſible veins in mens hearts to the eye of the beholder; yea the ſweat of anger waſheth off their paint, & makes them appear in their true colours.

3 When accidentally they bolt out ſpeeches unawares to themſelves. More hold is then to be taken of a few words caſually uttered, then of ſet ſolemn ſpeeches, which rather ſhew mens arts then their natures, as endited rather from their brains then hearts. The drop of one word may ſhew more then the ſtream of an whole oration; and our Stateſman by examining ſuch fugitive paſſages (which have ſtollen on a ſudden out of the parties mouth) arrives at his beſt intelligence.

In Court-factions he keeps himſelf in a free neutrality. Otherwiſe to engage himſelf needleſſely were both folly and danger. When Francis the firſt, King of France, was conſulting with his Captains how to lead his army * over the Alpes into Italy, whether this way or that way, Amarill his fool ſprung out of a corner, where he ſate unſeen, and bade them rather take care which way they ſhould bring their ar- 13

* *Pere de Laucre, of the uncertainty of things, lib. 2, fourth diſcourſe.*

my out of Italy back again. Thus is it easie for one to interest and embarque himself in others quarrells, but much difficulty it is to be disengaged from them afterwards. Nor will our Statesman entitle himself a party in any feminine discords, knowing that *womens jarres breed mens warres.*

14 *Yet he counts neutrality profaneneſſe in ſuch matters wherein God,*
Prov. 26. 17. *his Prince, the Church, or State are concern'd.* Indeed, *He that meddleth with ſtrife not belonging unto him is like one that taketh a dog by the eares.* Yet if the dog worrieth a sheep, we may, yea ought to rescue it from his teeth, and must be champions for innocence when it is overborn with might. He that will stand neuter in such matters of moment, wherein his calling commands him to be a party, with Servilius in Rome, will please neither side: Of whom the Historian sayes, *P. Servilius medium ſe gerendo, nec plebis vitavit odium, nec apud Patres gratiam inivit.* And just it is with God, that they should be strained in the twist, who stride so wide as to set their legs in two opposite sides. Indeed an upright shoe may fit both feet, but never saw I glove that would serve both hands. Neutrality in matters of an indifferent nature may fit well, but never suit well in important matters, of farre different conditions.

15 *He is the centre wherein lines of intelligence meet from all forein countreys.* He is carefull that his outlandish instructions be full, true, and speedy; not with the sluggard telling for news at noone, that the sunne is risen. But more largely hereof in the Embassadour, hereafter.

16 *He refuseth all underhand pensions from forein Princes.* Indeed honourary rewards received with the approbation of his Sovereigne may be lawfull, and lesse dangerous. For although even such gifts tacitly oblige him by way of gratitude to do all good offices to that forein Prince whose Pensioner he is; yet his counsells passe not but with an open abatement, in regard of his known engagements, and so the State is armed against the advice of such, who are well known to lean to one side. But secret pensions which flow from forein Princes, like the river Anas in Spain, under ground

ground, not known or diſcerned, are moſt miſchievous. The receivers of ſuch will play under-board at the Counſell-table; and the eating and digeſting of ſuch outlandiſh food will by degrees fill their veins with outlandiſh bloud, even in their very hearts.

17 *His Maſter-piece is in negotiating for his own Maſter with forein Princes.* At Rhodes there was a contention betwixt Apelles and Protogenes, corrivalls in the Myſtery of Limming. Apelles with his pencill drew a very ſlender even line; Protogenes drew another more ſmall and ſlender in the midſt thereof with another colour: Apelles again with a third line of a different colour drew thorow the midſt of that Protogenes had made, * *Nullum relinquens amplius ſubtilitati locum.* Thus our Stateſman traverſeth matters, doubling and redoubling in his forein negotiations with the Politicians of other Princes, winding, and entrenching themſelves mutually within the thoughts each of other, till at laſt our Stateſman leaves no degrees of ſubtlety to go beyond him.

* *Plin. nat. Hiſt. lib. 34. cap. 10.*

To conclude; Some plead that diſſembling is Lawfull in State-craft. upon the preſuppoſition that men muſt meet with other which diſſemble. Yea they hold, that thus to counterfeit, *ſe defendendo*, againſt a crafty corrivall, is no ſinne, but a juſt puniſhment on our adverſary, who firſt began it. And therefore Stateſmen ſometimes muſt uſe crooked ſhoes, to fit hurl'd feet. Beſides, the honeſt Politician would quickly be begger'd, if, receiving black money from cheatours, he payes them in good ſilver, and not in their own coin back again. For my part, I confeſſe that herein I rather ſee what then whither to flie; neither able to anſwer their arguments, nor willing to allow their practice. But what ſhall I ſay; They need to have ſteddy heads who can dive into theſe gulfs of policy, and come out with a ſafe conſcience. I'le look no longer on thoſe whirl-pools of State, leſt my pen turn giddy.

WILLIAM CECIL *Baron of* Burgleigh & *Lord* Treasurer *of England. He dyed Anno 1598. Aged 77 yeares.*

W. Marshall sculp:

Chap. 6.

The life of William Cecil *Lord Burleigh.*

William Cecil born at Bourn in Lincolnshire, descended from the ancient and worshipfull Family of the Sitsilts or Cecils of Alterynnis in Herefordshire, on the confines of Wales; a name which a great * Antiquary thinks probably derived from the Romane *Cecilii.* No credit is to be given to their pens, who tax him with meanesse of birth, and whose malice is so generall against all goodnesse, that it had been a slander if this worthy man had not been slandred

* *Verstegan, restitut. of decaid intelligence, p.* 312.

ſlandred by them: The ſervant is not above his maſter; and we know what aſperſions their malice ſought to caſt on the Queen her ſelf.

He being firſt bred in S. Johns Colledge in Cambridge, went thence to Grayes Inne (and uſed it as an Inne indeed, ſtudying there in his Paſſage to the Court) where he attained good learning in the Laws: yet his skill in fencing made him not daring to quarrell, who in all his life-time neither * ſued any, nor was ſued himſelf. He was after Maſter of the Requeſts (the firſt that ever bare that office) unto the Duke of Sommerſet, Lord Protectour, and was knighted by King Edward the ſixth.

* *Cambd. Eliz. ab. in Anno* 1598.

One * challengeth him to have been a main contriver of that act, and unnaturall will of King Edward the ſixth, wherein the King paſsing by his ſiſters, Marie and Elizabeth, entailed the Crown on Queen Jane; and that he furniſhed that act with reaſons of State, as Judge Montague filled it with arguments of Law. Indeed his hand wrote it, as Secretary of State, but his heart conſented not thereto; yea he openly * oppoſed it, though at laſt yielding to the greatneſſe of Northumberland, in an age wherein it was preſent drowning, not to ſwim along with the ſtream. But as the * Philoſopher tells us, that though the Planets be whirled about daily from Eaſt to Weſt by the motion of the *Primum mobile*, yet have they alſo a contrary proper motion of their own, from Weſt to Eaſt, which they ſlowly yet ſurely move at their leiſures: ſo Cecill had ſecret counter-endeavours againſt the ſtrain of the Court herein, and privately advanced his rightfull intentions againſt the foreſaid Dukes ambition; and we ſee that afterward Queen Marie not onely pardoned but employ'd him; ſo that towards the end of her reigne he ſtood in ſome twilight of her favour.

*Sr. John Hayward in his Edward ſixth, pag. 417.

* *Camden, ut priùs.*

* *Ariſtot. lib. 2. de cœlo cap. 4. & 10.*

As for Sr. Edward Montague Lord chief Juſtice, what he did was by command againſt his own will, as appears by his written proteſtation at his death, ſtill in the hands of his honourable poſterity. But whileſt in this army of offenders, the Nobility in the front made an eſcape for themſelves,

Queen Maries diſpleaſure overtook the old Judge in the rere, the good old man being not able with ſuch ſpeed to provide for himſelf; yea though he had done nothing but by generall conſent and command, the reſt of the Lords laid load on him, deſirous that the Queens anger ſhould ſend him on an errand to the priſon, and thence to the ſcaffold, to excuſe themſelves from going on the ſame meſſage. However, after ſome impriſonment he was pardon'd; a ſufficient argument, that the Queen conceived him to concurre paſſively in that action.

In Queen Elizabeths dayes he was made Secretary of State, Maſter of the Wards, Lord Treaſurer, and at laſt after long ſervice Baron of Burleigh. For the Queen honoured her honours in conferring them ſparingly, thereby making Titles more ſubſtantiall, wherewith ſhe payed many for their ſervice. The beſt demonſtration of his care in ſtewarding her Treaſure was this, that the Queen, vying gold and ſilver with the King of Spain, had money or credit, when the other had neither; her Exchequer, though but a pond in compariſon, holding water, when his river, fed with a ſpring from the Indies, was dreined dry.

In that grand faction betwixt Leiceſter and Suſſex, he meddled not openly, though 'tis eaſie to tell whom he wiſh'd the beſt to. Indeed this cunning Wreſtler would never catch hold to grapple openly with Leiceſter (as having ſomewhat the diſadvantage of him both in height and ſtrength) but as they ran to their ſeverall goles, if they chanced to meet, Burleigh would fairly give him a trip, and be gone; and the Earl had many a rub laid in his way, yet never ſaw who put it there.

'Tis true, the Sword-men accuſ'd him as too cold in the Queens credit, and backward in fighting againſt forein enemies. Indeed he would never engage the State in a warre, except neceſsity, or her Majeſties honour, ſounded the alarm: But no reaſon he ſhould be counted an enemie to the Sparks of Valour, who was ſo carefull to provide them fewel, and pay the Souldier. Otherwiſe, in vain do the

brows frown, the eyes ſparkle, the tongue threaten, the fiſt bend, and the arm ſtrike, except the belly be fed.

The Queen reflected her favour highly upon him, counting him both her Treaſurer, and her principall Treaſure. She would cauſe him alwayes to ſit down in her preſence, becauſe troubled with the gout, and uſed to tell him: *My Lord, we make much of you, not for your bad legs, but for your good head.* This cauſed him to be much envied of ſome great ones at Court; and at one time no fewer then the * Marqueſſe of Wincheſter, Duke of Norfolk, Earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Weſtmerland, Pembroke and Leiceſter combining againſt him, taking advantage about his making over ſome moneys beyond ſea to the French Proteſtants, and on ſome other occaſions; Sr Nicholas Throgmorton adviſed them firſt to clap him up in priſon, ſaying, that if he were once ſhut up, men would open their mouths to ſpeak freely againſt him. But the Queen underſtanding hereof, and ſtanding, as I may ſay, in the very priſon-doore, quaſh'd all their deſignes, and freed him from the miſchief projected againſt him.

* *Cambden. Elizab. Anno* 1579.

He was a good friend to the Church, as then eſtabliſhed by Law; he uſed to adviſe his eldeſt ſonne Thomas never to beſtow any great coſt, or to build any great houſe on an Impropriation, as fearing the foundation might fail hereafter. A Patron to both Univerſities, chiefly to Cambridge, whereof he was Chancellour; and though Rent-corn firſt grew in the head of Sr Thomas Smith, it was ripened by Burleighs aſſiſtance, whereby though the rents of Colledges ſtand ſtill, their revenues increaſe.

No man was more pleaſant and merry at meals; and he had a pretty wit-rack in himſelf, to make the dumbe to ſpeak, to draw ſpeech out of the moſt ſullen and * ſilent gueſt at his table, to ſhew his diſpoſition in any point he ſhould propound. For Forein intelligence, though he traded ſometimes on the ſtock of Secretary Walſingham, yet wanted he not a plentifull bank of his own. At night when he put off his gown, he uſed to ſay, *Lie there, Lord Treaſurer,*

* *Hottoman in deſcrip. of the Embaſſadour witneſſeth ſo much, who had been at his table.*

and bidding adieu to all State-affairs, diſpoſed himſelf to his quiet reſt.

Some looking on the eſtate he left, have wondered that it was ſo great, and afterwards wondered more that it was ſo little, having conſidered what Offices he had, and how long he enjoyed them. His harveſt laſted every day for above thirty years together, wherein he allowed ſome of his ſervants the ſame courteſie Boaz granted to Ruth, to glean even among the ſheaves, and to ſuffer ſome handfulls alſo to fall on purpoſe for them, whereby they raiſed great eſtates.

To draw to a concluſion: There aroſe a great queſtion in State, whether warre with Spain ſhould be continued, or a peace drawn up? The Sword and Gownmen brought weighty arguments on both ſides ſtamping alſo upon them with their private intereſts, to make them more heavy: Burleigh was all againſt warre, now old, being deſirous to depart in peace, both private in his Conſcience, and publick in the State. But his life was determined before the queſtion was fully decided. In his ſickneſſe the Queen often viſited him, a good plaiſter to aſſwage his pain, but unable to prolong his life; ſo that, *Cum ſatis nature, ſatisque gloriæ, patriæ autem non ſatis vixiſſet*, in the ſeventy ſeventh yeare of his age, *Anno* 1598. he exchanged this life for a better. God meaſured his outward happineſſe not by an ordinary ſtandard: How many great Undertakers in State ſet in a cloud, whereas he ſhined to the laſt? Herein much is to be aſcribed to the Queens conſtancy, who to confute the obſervation of Feminine fickleneſſe, where her favour did light it did lodge; more to his own temper and moderation, whereas violent and boyſterous meddlers in State cripple themſelves with aches in their age; moſt to Gods goodneſſe, who honoureth them that hononr him. He ſaw Thomas his eldeſt ſonne richly married to an honourable coheir; Robert, able to ſtand alone in Court, having a competent portion of favour, which he knew thriftily to improve, being a pregnant proficient in State-diſcipline.

Chap. 7.

The good Judge.

THe good Advocate, whom we * formerly described, is since by his Princes favour, and own deserts, advanced to be a Judge: which his place he freely obtained with Sr. Augustine * Nicolls, whom King James used to call *the Judge that would give no money*. Otherwise they that buy Justice by wholesale, to make themselves savers must sell it by retail.

* *Lib. 2. cap. 1.*

* *Bolton in his funer. notes on him.*

He is patient and attentive in hearing the pleadings on both sides; and hearkens to the witnesses, though tedious. He may give a waking testimony who hath but a dreaming utterance; and many countrey people must be impertinent, before they can be pertinent, and cannot give evidence about an hen, but first they must begin with it in the egge. All which our Judge is contented to hearken to. *Maxime* 1

He meets not a testimony half-way, but stayes till it come at him. He that proceeds on half-evidence, will not do quarter-justice. Our Judge will not go till he is lead. If any shall brow-beat a pregnant witnesse, on purpose to make his proof miscarry, he checketh them, and helps the witnesse that labours in his delivery. On the other side, he nips those Lawyers, who under a pretence of kindnesse to lend a witnesse some words, give him new matter, yea clean contrary to what he intended. 2

Having heard with patience, he gives sentence with uprightnesse. For when he put on his robes, he put off his relations to any; and like Melchisedech becomes without pedigree. His private affections are swallowed up in the common cause, as rivers lose their names in the ocean. He therefore allows no noted favourites, which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of by-wayes. 3

He silences that Lawyer who seeks to set the neck of a bad cause, once broken with a definitive sentence; and causeth that contentious 4

contentious ſuits be ſpued out, as the ſurfets of Courts.

5 *He ſo hates bribes, that he is jealous to receive any kindneſſe above the ordinary proportion of friendſhip*; leſt like the Sermons of wandring Preachers, they ſhould end in begging. And ſurely Integrity is the proper portion of a Judge. Men have a touch-ſtone whereby to try gold, but gold is the touch-ſtone whereby to trie men. It was a ſhrewd gird which Catulus gave the Romane Judges for acquitting Clodius a great malefactour, when he met them going home well attended with Officers; *You do well* (quoth he) *to be well* guarded for your ſafety, leſt the money be taken away from you, you took for bribes.* Our Judge alſo deteſteth the trick of Mendicant Friers, who will touch no money themſelves, but have a boy with a bag to receive it for them.

* *Plutar. in the life of Cicero, pag. 872.*

6 *When he ſits upon life, in judgement he remembreth mercy.* Then (they ſay) a butcher may not be of the Jurie, much leſſe let him be the Judge. Oh let him take heed how he ſtrikes, that hath a dead hand. It was the charge Queen Marie gave to Judge Morgan, chief Juſtice of the common Pleas, that notwithſtanding the old *errour amongſt Judges did not admit any witneſſe to ſpeak, or any other matter to be heard in favour of the adverſary, her Majeſtie being party; yet her Highneſſe pleaſure was that whatſoever could be brought in the favour of the Subject ſhould be admitted and heard.

* *Hollinſhed in Queen Maric, pag. 1112.*

7 *If the cauſe be difficult, his diligence is the greater to ſift it out.* For though there be mention, Pſal. 37, 6. of righteouſneſſe as clear as the noon-day, yet God forbid that that innocency which is no clearer then twilight ſhould be condemned. And ſeeing ones oath commands anothers life, he ſearcheth whether malice did not command that oath: yet when all is done, the Judge may be deceived by falſe evidence. But blame not the hand of the diall, if it points at a falſe houre, when the fault's in the wheels of the clock which direct it, and are out of frame.

8 *The ſentence of condemnation he pronounceth with all gravity.* Tis beſt when ſteep'd in the Judges tears. He avoideth all jeſting on men in miſery: eaſily may he put them out of

of countenance, whom he hath power to put out of life.

9 *Such as are unworthy to live, and yet unfitted to die, he provides ſhall be inſtructed.* By Gods mercy, and good teaching, the reprive of their bodies may get the pardon of their ſouls, and one dayes longer life for them here may procure a bleſſed eternity for them hereafter, as may appear by this memorable Example. It happened about the yeare one thouſand five hundred and fiftie ſix in the town of *Weiſſenſtein in Germany that a Jew for theft he had committed, was in this cruell manner to be executed: He was hang'd by the feet with his head downwards betwixt two dogs, which conſtantly ſnatch'd and bit at him. The ſtrangeneſſe of the torment moved Jacobus Andreas (a grave, moderate, and learned Divine as any in that age) to go to behold it. Coming thither he found the poore wretch, as he hung, repeating Verſes out of the Hebrew Pſalmes, wherein he cryed out to God for mercy. Andreas hereupon took occaſion to counſell him to truſt in Jeſus Chriſt the true Saviour of mankind: The Jew embracing the Chriſtian Faith, requeſted but this one thing, that he might be taken down and be baptized, though preſently after he were hanged again (but by the neck as Chriſtian malefactours ſuffered) which was accordingly granted him.

*Melchior Adamus in vit. Jac. Andreæ, p. 639.

10 *He is exact to do juſtice in civill Suits betwixt Sovereigne and Subject.* This will moſt ingratiate him with his Prince at laſt. Kings neither are, can, nor ſhould be Lawyers themſelves, by reaſon of higher State-employments, but herein they ſee with the eyes of their Judges, and at laſt will break thoſe falſe ſpectacles which (in point of Law) ſhall be found to have deceived them.

11 *He counts the Rules of State and the Laws of the Realm mutually ſupport each other.* Thoſe who made the Laws to be not onely diſparate, but even oppoſite terms to maximes of Government, were true friends neither to Laws nor Government. Indeed *Salus Reip.* is *Charta maxima*: extremity makes the next the beſt remedy. Yet though hot waters be good to be given to one in a ſwound, they will burn his heart out who drinks them

them constantly, when in health. Extraordinary courses are not ordinarily to be used, when not enforced by absolute necessity.

And thus we leave our good Judge to receive a just reward of his integrity from the Judge of Judges, at the great Assize of the world.

Chap. 8.

The life of S^r. John Markham.

John Markham was born at Markham in Nottinghamshire, descended of an ancient and worthy familie. He employed his youth in the studying of the Muncipall Law of this realm, wherein he attained to such eminencie, that King Edward the fourth Knighted him, and made him Lord chief * Justice of the Kings Bench in the place of S^r John Fortescue, that learned and upright Judge, who fled away with King Henrie the sixth.

* 13. *Mail.* 1. *Edwardi.* 4.

Yet Forteſcue was not miſſ'd, becauſe Markham ſucceeded him: and that loſſe, which otherwiſe could not be repair'd, now could not be perceiv'd. For though theſe two Judges did ſeverally lean to the ſides of Lancaſter and York, yet both ſate upright in matters of Judicature.

We will inſtance and inſiſt on one memorable act of our Judge, which though ſingle in it ſelf, was plurall in the concernings thereof. And let the Reader know, that I have not been careleſſe to ſearch, though unhappy not to find, the originall Record, perchance aboliſhed on purpoſe, and ſilenced for telling tales to the diſgrace of great ones. We muſt now be contented to write this Story out of the Engliſh Chronicles; * and let him die of drougth without pity, who will not quench his thirſt at the river, becauſe he cannot come at the fountain.

* *Fabian. pag.* 497. *&c. Hollinſhed pag.* 670. *& Stow in* 12. *of Edward the fourth.*

King Edward the fourth having married into the family of the Woodvills (Gentleman of more antiquity then wealth,

wealth, and of higher ſpirits then fortunes) thought it fit for his own honour to beſtow honour upon them: But he could not ſo eaſily provide them of wealth, as titles. For honour he could derive from himſelf, like light from a candle, without any diminiſhing of his own luſtre; whereas wealth flowing from him, as water from a fountain, made the ſpring the ſhallower. Wherefore he reſolved to cut down ſome prime ſubjects, and to engraff the Queens kinred into their eſtates, which otherwiſe like ſuckers muſt feed on the ſtock of his own Exchequer.

There was at this time one Sr Thomas Cook, late Lord Major of London, and Knight of the Bath, one who had well lick'd his fingers under Queen Margaret (whoſe Wardroper he was, and cuſtomer of Hampton) a man of a great eſtate. It was agreed that he ſhould be accuſed of high Treaſon, and a Commiſsion of Oyer and Terminer granted forth to the Lord Major, the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Rivers, Sr. John Markham, Sr. John Fogg, &c. to try him in Guild Hall: And the King by private inſtructions to the Judge appear'd ſo farre, that Cook, though he was not, muſt be found guilty, and if the Law were too ſhort, the Judge muſt ſtretch it to the purpoſe.

The fault laid to his charge was for lending moneys to Queen Margaret, wife to King Henrie the ſixth; the proof, was the confeſsion of one Hawkins, who being rack'd in the Tower had confeſſed ſo much. The Counſell for the King, hanging as much weight on the ſmalleſt wier as it would hold, aggravated each particular, and by their Rhetoricall flaſhes blew the fault up to a great height. Sr. Thomas Cook pleaded for himſelf, that Hawkins indeed upon a ſeaſon came to him, and requeſted him to lend one thouſand marks, upon good ſecurity. But he deſired firſt to know for whom the money ſhould be: and underſtanding it was for Queen Margaret, denyed to lend any money, though at laſt the ſaid Hawkins deſcended ſo low as to require but one hundred pounds, and departed without any peny lent him.

Judge Markham in a grave ſpeech did recapitulate, ſelect

and collate the materiall points on either ſide, ſhewing that the proof reached not the charge of high Treaſon, and miſpriſon of Treaſon was the higheſt it could amount to; and intimated to the Jurie, to be tender in matter of life, and diſcharge good conſciences.

The Jurie being wiſe men (whoſe apprehenſions could make up an whole ſentence of every nod of the Judge) ſaw it behoved them to draw up Treaſon into as narrow a compaſſe as might be, leſt it became their own caſe; for they lived in a troubleſome world, wherein the cards were ſo ſhuffled, that two Kings were turn'd up trump at once, which amazed men how to play their games. Whereupon they acquitted the priſoner of high Treaſon, and found him guilty, as the Judge directed.

Yet it coſt Sr. Thomas Cook, before he could get his libertie, eight hundred pounds to the Queen, and eight thouſand pounds to the King: A ſumme in that age more ſounding like the ranſome of a Prince, then the fine of a Subject. Beſides, the Lord Rivers (the Queens Father) had, during his Impriſonment, deſpoyled his houſes, one in the city, another in the countrey, of plate and furniture, for which he never received a penie recompence. Yet God righted him of the wrongs men did him, by bleſsing the remnant of his eſtate to him, and his poſterity, which ſtill flouriſh at Giddy-Hall in Eſſex.

As for Sr. John Markham, the Kings diſpleaſure fell ſo heavy on him, that he was outed of his place, and Sr. Thomas Billing put in his room, though the one loſt that Office with more honour then the other got it; and gloried in this, that though the King could make him no Judge, he could not make him no upright Judge. He lived privately the reſt of his dayes, having (beſides the eſtate got by his practice) fair lands by Margaret his wife, daughter and coheir to Sr. Simon Leak * of Cotham in Nottinghamſhire, whoſe Mother Joan was daughter and heir of Sr. John Talbot, of Swannington in Leiceſterſhire.

*Burtons Leiceſterſhire, pag. 577.

CHAP 9.

Chap. 9.

The good Biſhop.

HE is an Overſeer of a Flock of Shepherds, as a Miniſter is of a Flock of Gods ſheep. Divine providence and his Princes bounty advanced him to the Place, whereof he was no whit ambitious: Onely he counts it good manners to ſit there where God hath placed him, though it be higher then he conceives himſelf to deſerve, and hopes that he who call'd him to the Office hath or will in ſome meaſure fit him for it.

Maxime 1

His life is ſo ſpotleſſe, that Malice is angry with him, becauſe ſhe cannot be angry with him: becauſe ſhe can find no juſt cauſe to accuſe him. And as * Diogenes confuted him who denyed there was any motion, by ſaying nothing but walking before his eyes; ſo our Biſhop takes no notice of the falſe accuſations of people diſaffected againſt his order, but *walks* on *circumſpectly* in his calling, really refelling their cavils by his converſation. A Biſhops bare preſence at a marriage in his own dioceſſe, is by the Law interpreted for a licence; and what actions ſoever he graceth with his company, he is conceived to priviledge them to be lawfull, which makes him to be more wary in his behaviour.

* *Diogen. Laert. lib. 6. pag. 212. in vit. Diogenis.*

With his honour, his holineſſe and humility doth increaſe. His great Place makes not his piety the leſſe: farre be it from him that the glittering of the candleſtick ſhould dimme the ſhining of his candle. The meaneſt Miniſter of Gods word may have free acceſſe unto him: whoſoever brings a good cauſe brings his own welcome with him. The pious poore may enter in at his wide gates, when not ſo much as his wicket ſhall be open to wealthy unworthineſſe. 2

He is diligent and faithfull in preaching the Goſpel: either by his pen; *Evangelizo manu & ſcriptione*, ſaith a ſtrict * Divine; or by his vocall Sermons (if age and other indiſpenſable occaſions hinder him not) teaching the Clergie to preach, and 3

* *Reinold. de Idol. Rom. Eccleſ. Epiſt. dedicat.*

* *Concil. Tolet. 2. Cap. 2. Tom. 4. pag. 820. Concil. Conſtant. 6. Can. 19. Tom. 5. pag. 328. Concil. Aurel. Can. 33. pag. 723. and lately, Concil Trident. Seſſ. 24. Can. 4.*

the Laity to live, according to the ancient * Canons. Object not that it is unfitting he ſhould lie Perdue, who is to walk the round, and that Governing as an higher employment is to ſilence his Preaching: For Preaching is a principall part of Governing, and Chriſt himſelf ruleth his Church by his Word. Hereby Biſhops ſhall govern hearts, and make men yield unto them a true and willing obedience, reverencing God in them. Many in conſumptions have recover'd their healths by returning to their native aire wherein they were born: If Epiſcopacy be in any declination or diminution of honour, the going back to the painfulneſſe of the primitive Fathers in Preaching, is the onely way to repair it.

4 *Painfull, pious, and peaceable Miniſters are his principall Favourites.* If he meets them in his way (yea he will make it his way to meet them) he beſtoweth all grace and luſtre upon them.

5 *He is carefull that Church-cenſures be juſtly and ſolemnly inflicted:* namely,

1 Admonition, when the Church onely chideth, but with the rod in her hand.

2 Excommunication, the Mittimus whereby the Malefactour is ſent to the gaolour of hell, and *delivered to Satan.*

3 Aggravation, whereby for his greater contempt, he is removed out of the goale into the dungeon.

4 Penance, which is or ſhould be inward repentance, made viſible by open confeſsion, whereby the Congregation is ſatisfied for the publick offence given her.

5 Abſolution, which fetcheth the penitent out of hell, and opens the doore of heaven for him, which Excommunication had formerly lock'd, and Aggravation bolted againſt him.

As much as lies in his power, he either prevents or corrects thoſe too frequent abuſes, whereby offenders are not * *prick'd to the heart*, but let bloud in the purſe; and when the Court hath her coſts, the Church hath no damage given her, nor any reparation for the open ſcandall ſhe received by the parties

* *Acts 2. 37.*

parties offence. Let the memory of Worthy Biſhop Lake ever ſurvive, whoſe hand had the true ſeaſoning of a Sermon with Law and Goſpel, and who was moſt fatherly grave in inflicting Church-cenſures: Such offenders as were unhappy in deſerving, were happy in doing penance in his preſence.

6 *He is carefull and happy in ſuppreſsing of Hereſies and Schiſmes.* He diſtinguiſheth of Schiſmaticks, as Phyſicians do of Leprous people: Some are infectious, * others not; Some are active to ſeduce others, others quietly enjoy their opinions in their own conſciences. The latter by his mildneſſe he eaſily reduceth to the truth; whereas the Chirurgeons rigourouſly handling it, often breaks that bone quite off, which formerly was but out of joynt: Towards the former he uſeth more ſeverity, yet endeavouring firſt to inform him aright, before he puniſheth him. To uſe force firſt before people are fairly taught the truth, is to knock a nail into a board, without wimbling a hole for it, which then either not enters, or turns crooked, or ſplits the wood it pierceth.

* *The Leproſy Elephantiaſis not infectious to the company.*

7 *He is very mercifull in puniſhing offenders*: both in matter of live and livelyhood, ſeeing in S. Johns Language the ſame word * βίος ſignifies both. He had rather draw tears, then bloud. It was the honour of the Romane State, as yet being Pagan, * *In hoc gloriari licet, nulli Gentium mitiores placuiſſe pœnas*: Yea, for the firſt ſeventy years (till the reigne of Ancus Martius) they were without a priſon. Clemency therefore in a Chriſtian Biſhop is more proper: O let not the *Starres of our Church* be herein turn'd to Comets, whoſe appearing in place of judicature, preſageth to ſome death or deſtruction. I confeſſe that even Juſtice it ſelf is a kind of mercy: But God grant that my portion of mercy be not paid me in that coin. And though the higheſt deteſtation of ſinne, beſt agreeth with Clergy-men; yet ought they to caſt a ſevere eye on the vice and example, and a mercifull eye on the perſon.

* *John* 3. 17.

* *Livius lib.* 1. *pag.* 20.

8 *None more forward to forgive a wrong done to himſelf.* Worthy

* *Cambd. Eliz. ab. in Anno 1583. p. 538.*

Archbiſhop * Whitgift interceded to Queen Elizabeth for remitting of heavie fines laid on ſome of his Adverſaries (learning from Chriſt his Maſter to be a mediatour for them) till his importunity had angred the Queen, yea and till his importunity had pleaſ'd her again, and gave not over till he got them to be forgiven.

9 *He is very carefull on whom he layeth hands in Ordination*; leſt afterwards he hath juſt cauſe to beſhrew his fingers, and with Martianus, a Biſhop of Conſtantinople (who made Sabbatius a Jew and a turbulent man Prieſt) wiſh he had then rather laid his hand on the * briers, then ſuch a mans head. For the ſufficiency of Scholarſhip he goeth by his own eye; but for their honeſt life, he is guided by other mens hands, which would not ſo oft deceive him, were Teſtimonialls a matter of leſſe courteſie and more conſcience. For whoſoever ſubſcribes them enters into bond to God and the Church, under an heavy forfeiture, to avouch the honeſtie of the party commended; and, as Judah for Benjamin, they become *ſureties for the young man unto his father*. Nor let them think to avoid the band and make it but a blank with that clauſe, *ſo farre forth as we know*, or words to the like effect: For what ſaith the Apoſtle? *God is not mocked.*

* *Socrat. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 20.*

10 *He meddleth as little as may be with Temporall matters*: having little skill in them, and leſſe will to them. Not that he is unworthy to manage them, but they unworthy to be managed by him. Yea generally the moſt dexterous in ſpirituall matters are left-handed in temporall buſineſſe, and go but untowardly about them. Wherefore our Biſhop, with reverend * Andrews, *meddleth little in civill affairs, being out of his profeſsion and element*. Heaven in his vocation, and therefore he counts earthly employments avocations: except in ſuch caſes which lie (as I may ſay) in the Marches of Divinity, and have connexion with his calling; or elſe when temporall matters meddle with him, ſo that he muſt rid them out of his way. Yet he rather admireth then condemneth ſuch of his brethren, who are ſtrengthned with that which would diſtract him, making the concurrence of ſpi-

* *Funerall Serm. on him, pag. 19.*

rituall

rituall and temporall power in them support one another, and using worldly businesse as their recreation to heavenly employment.

11 *If call'd to the Court he there doth all good offices,* betwixt Prince and people, striving to remove all misprisions and disaffections, and advancing unity and concord. They that think the Church may flourish when the Common-wealth doth wither may as well conceive that the brains may be found when *pia mater* is perished. When in the way of a Confessour he privately tells his Prince of his faults, he knows by Nathans parable, to go the neerest way home by going farre about.

12 *He improves his power with his Prince for the Churches good,* in maintaining both true religion and the maintenance thereof; lest some pretending with pious Ezechiah to beat down the brazen serpent, the occasion of Idolatry, do indeed with sacrilegious Ahaz take away the brazen bulls from the Laver, and set it on a pavement of stone. He joyntly advanceth the pains and gains, the work and wages of Ministers, which going together make a flourishing Clergy, with Gods blessing, and without mans envy.

13 *His mortified mind is no whit moved with the magnificent vanities of the Court*: no more then a dead corps is affected with a velvet herse-cloth over it. He is so farre from wondring at their pomps, that though he looks daily on them, he scarce sees them, having his eyes taken up with higher objects; and onely admires at such, as can admire such low matters. He is loved and feared of all; and his presence frights the Swearer either out of his oathes or into silence, and he stains all other mens lives with the clearnesse of his own.

14 *Yet he daily prayeth God to keep him in so slippery a place.* Elisha prayed that a double portion of Eliahs Spirit might rest upon him. A Father descanteth hereon, that a double portion of grace was necessary for Elisha, who was gracious at Court, lived in a plentifull way, and favoured of the Kings of Israel; whereas Eliah lived poorely, and privately:

And more wiſdome is requiſite to manage proſperity then affliction.

15 *In his grave writings, he aims at Gods glory, and the Churches peace*, with that worthy Prelate, the ſecond Jewel of Salisbury, whoſe Comments and Controverſies will tranſmit his memory to all Poſterity:

Whoſe dying pen did write of *Chriſtian Union*
How Church with Church might ſafely keep *Communion.*
Commend his care, although the cure do miſſe;
The woe is ours, the happineſſe is his:
Who finding diſcords daily to encreaſe,
Becauſe he could not live, would die, in peace.

16 *He ever makes honourable mention of forein Proteſtant Churches*; even when he differs and diſſents from them. The worſt he wiſheth the French Church, is a Proteſtant King: not giving the left hand of Fellowſhip to them, and reſerving his right for ſome other. Cannot Chriſts coat be of different colours, but alſo it muſt be of ſeverall ſeams? railing one on another, till theſe Siſters, by baſtardizing one another, make the Popiſh Church the ſole heir to all truth. How often did reverend * Whitgift (knowing he had the farre better cheere) ſend a meſſe of meat from his own table to the Miniſters of Geneva? relieving many of them by bountifull contributions. Indeed Engliſh charity to forein Proteſtant Churches, in ſome reſpect is payment of a debt: their children deſerve to be our welcome gueſts, whoſe Grandfathers were our loving hoſts in the dayes of Queen Mary.

* *S. G. Paul. in his life, pag. 63, 64.*

17 *He is thankfull to that Colledge whence he had his education.* He conceiv'd himſelf to heare his Mother-Colledge alwayes ſpeaking to him in the language of Joſeph to Pharaohs Butler, * *But think on me, I pray thee, when it ſhall be well with thee.* If he himſelf hath but little, the leſſe from him is the more acceptable: A drop from a Spunge is as much as a tunne of water from a Mariſh. He beſtows on it Books, or Plate, or Lands, or Building; and the Houſes of the Prophets rather lack watering then planting, there being enough of them, if they had enough.

* *Gen. 40. 14.*

He

He is hoſpitable in his houſekeeping according to his eſtate. His bounty is with diſcretion to thoſe that deſerve it: Charity miſtaken, which relieves idle people, like a dead corps, onely feeds the vermin it breeds. The rankneſſe of his houſekeeping produceth no riot in his Family. S. Paul calls a Chriſtian Family well ordered, * *a Church in their houſe.* If a private mans houſe be a Parochiall, a Biſhops may ſeem a Cathedrall Church, as much better as bigger, ſo decently all things therein are diſpoſed.

* *Rom. 6. 5. Theoph. in locum.*

We come now to give a double Example of a godly Biſhop: the firſt out of the Primitive times, the ſecond out of the Engliſh Church ſince the Reformation, both excellent in their ſeverall wayes.

CHAP. 10.

S^t AVGUSTINE *the Learned and painfull Bishop of Hippo, in Africa, for the space of 40 yeares where he dyed, in the 70^th. yeare of His Age, about y^e yeare of o^r Lord 430.*
W. Marshall sculp:

CHAP. 10.

The life of S^t. AUGUSTINE.

AUguſtine was born in the City of Tagaſta in Africa, of Gentile parentage, Patricius and Monica, though their means bore not proportion to their birth, ſo that the breeding of their ſonne at Learning much weakned their eſtate, in ſo much as Romanian a noble gentleman (all the world is bound to be thankfull to S. Auguſtines Benefactour) bountifully advanced his education.

It will be needleſſe to ſpeak of his youth, vitious in manners

ners and erroneous in doctrine, eſpecially ſeeing he hath ſo largely accuſ'd himſelf in his *Confeſsions*. 'Tis tyranny to trample on him that proſtrates himſelf; and whoſe ſinnes God hath gratiouſly forgotten, let no man deſpightfully remember.

Being made a Presbyter in the Church of Hippo, this great favour was allowed him, to preach conſtantly, though in the preſence of * Valerius the Biſhop: whereas in that age to heare a Prieſt preach when that a Biſhop was in the Church, was as great a wonder as the Moon ſhining at mid-day. Yea godly Valerius, one that could do better then he could ſpeak, and had a better heart then tongue, (being a Grecian, and therefore not well underſtood of the Africans) procured Auguſtine in his life-time to be deſigned Biſhop of Hippo, and to be joyned * fellow-Biſhop with himſelf, though it was flatly againſt the Canons.

* *Poſidonius in vit. Auguſt. cap. 5.*

* *Idem. cap. 8.*

For a Coadjutour commonly proves an hinderer, and by his envious claſhing, doth often dig his Partners grave with whom he is joyn'd; beſides that ſuch a ſuperinſtallation ſeems an unlawfull bigamy, marrying two husbands at the ſame time to the ſame Church. Yea, S. Auguſtine himſelf, afterwards underſtanding that this was againſt the Conſtitutions of the Church, was ſorry thereat (though others thought his eminency above Canons, and his deſerts his diſpenſation) and deſiring that his ignorance herein ſhould not miſguide others, obtained that the Canons (then not ſo hard to be kept as known, becauſe obſcure and ſcattered) were compiled together and publiſhed, that the Clergy might know what they were bound to obſerve.

Being afterwards ſole Biſhop, he was diligent in continuall preaching, and beating down of Hereticks, eſpecially the Manicheans, in whoſe Fence-ſchool he was formerly brought up, and therefore knew beſt how to hit them, and guard himſelf; alſo the Pelagians, the duelliſts againſt Grace, and for Freewill, which till S. Auguſtines time was never throughly ſifted, points in Divinity being but ſlenderly fenced till they are aſſaulted by Hereticks. He was alſo the hammer

mer of the Donatiſts, Hereticks who did ſcatter more then they did devoure, and their Schiſme was more dangerous then their * Doctrine.

* *See their Tenets at large in our fifth book.*

He went not ſo willingly to a feaſt as to a conference, to reduce any erroneous perſons: once he diſputed with Paſcentius the Arian, who requeſted that what paſſed betwixt them might not be written, and afterwards gave out his * bragges that he had worſted Auguſtine in the diſpute, which report was believed of all who deſired it.

* *Auguſt. Tom. 2. Ep. 174.*

In other battels, if the conquered ſide ſhould be ſo impudent as to boaſt of the victory, it will ere long be confuted by the number of their men ſlain, enſignes and wagons taken, with their flight out of the field. It is not thus in the tongue-combats of diſputes, wherein no viſible wounds are given, and wherein bold men (though inwardly convinced with force of reaſon) count not themſelves conquered till they confeſſe it; ſo that in effect none can be overcome except they will themſelves: For ſome are ſo ſhameleſſe that they count not their cauſe *wrackt* as long as any thing alive comes to the Land, ſo long as they have breath to talk though not to anſwer, and employ their hands not to untie their Adverſaries arguments, but onely obſtinately to lay hold on their own opinions; yea after the conference ended they cry *victoria* in all companies wherein they come, whileſt their Auditours, generally as engaged as the Diſputants, will ſuccour their Champion with partiall relations, as the Arians did in this caſe of Paſcentius.

But their falſe cavills have done the Church this true courteſie, that ever after S. Auguſtine ſet down his diſputations in writing, that ſo the eye of the Reader might more ſteddily behold his arguments preſented fixed in black and white, then when they were onely *in fluxu*, as paſsing in his words.

His clothes were neither * brave, nor baſe, but comely: As for the black Cowl of the Auguſtinians, which they pretend from his practice, it ſeemeth rather (if ſo ancient) to be cut with the ſheeres, or by the pattern, of Auguſtine the Monk.

* Veſtis nec nitida nimiùm, nec abjecta plurimùm, *Poſſidon. cap. 22.*

He

He would not receive gifts to the Church from thoſe who had poore kinred of their own: Divinitie ſaith, that mercy is better then ſacrifice; and the Law provides, that debts are to be paid before legacies.

In caſe of great want he would ſell the very Ornaments of the Church, and beſtow the money on the poore, contrary to the * opinion of many (the thorn of Superſtition began very ſoon to prick) who would not have ſuch things in any caſe to be alienated. Sure a Communion-table will not catch cold with wanting a rich carpet, nor ſtumble for lack of the candles thereon in ſilver candleſticks. Beſides, the Church might afterwards be ſeaſonably repleniſhed with new furniture, whereas if the poore were once ſterved, they could not be revived again. But let not Sacriledge in the diſguize of Charity make advantage hereof, and Covetouſneſſe, which is ever hungry till it ſurfets, make a conſtant ordinary on Church-bread, becauſe David in neceſsity fed one meal thereon.

* De vaſis Dominicis, propter captivos quamplurimos indigentes, frangi & conflari jubebat, & indigentibus diſpenſari: quod non commemoraſſem, niſi contra carnalem ſenſum quorundam fieri perviderem, *Poſſidon. in vit. Auguſt. cap.* 24.

His diet was very cleanly and ſparing, yet hoſpitable in the entertaining of others, and had this diſtich wrote on his table,

Quisquis amat dictis abſentum rodere famam,
Hanc menſam indignam noverit eſſe ſibi.
He that doth love on abſent friends to jeere,
May hence depart, no room is for him here.

His family was excellently well ordered, and ten of thoſe Scholars which were brought up under him, came afterwards to be Biſhops.

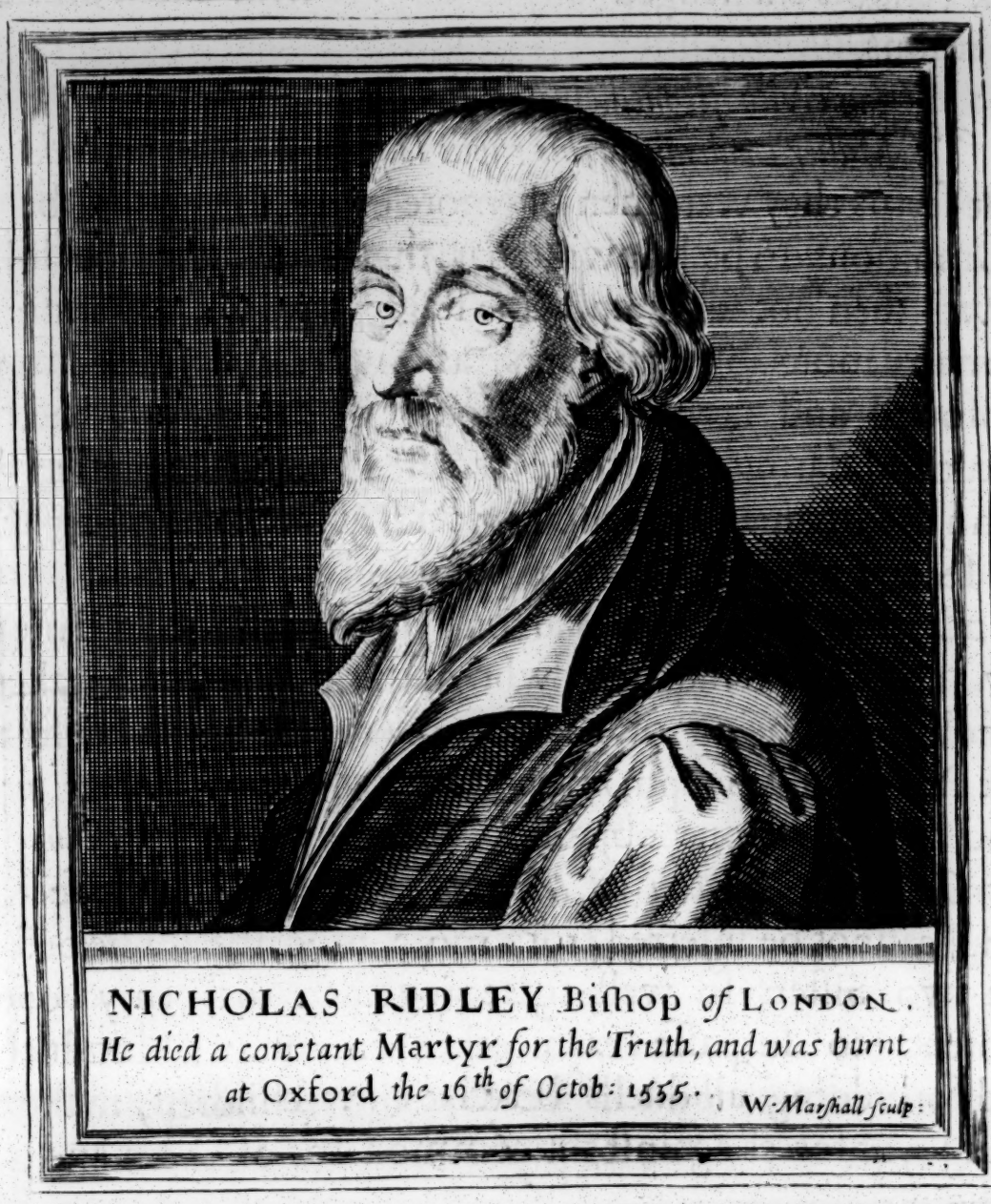
To come to his death. It happened that the Northern countreys, called by * ſome *Vagina gentium, the Sheath of people* (though more properly they may be termed, *Enſis dei, the Sword of God*) ſent forth the Vandalls, Albans, and Gothes, into the Southern parts, God puniſhing the pride of the Roman Empire, to be confounded by Barbarous enemies. Out of Spain they came into Africa, and maſſacred all before them. The neighbouring villages, like little children, did flie to Hippo the mother-City for ſuccour: thirteen

* *Methodius Martyr & Paul. Diacon.*

moneths was Hippo beſieged by the Gothes, and S. Auguſtine being therein, prayed to God either to remove the ſiege, or to give the Chriſtians therein patience to ſuffer, or to take him out of this miſerable world; which he obtained, and dyed in the third moneth of the ſiege.

Falling very ſick (beſides the diſeaſe of age and grief) he lay languiſhing a pretty time, and took order that none ſhould come to him, ſave when his meat was brought, or Phyſicians viſited him, that ſo he might have elbow-room the more freely to put off the clothes of his mortality.

The motion of Piety in him (by cuſtome now made naturall) was *velocior in fine*, daily breathing out moſt pious Ejaculations. He died inteſtate, not for lack of time to make a Will, but means to beſtow; having formerly paſſed his ſoul to God, whileſt his body of courſe bequeathed it ſelf to the earth. As for the books of his own making, a treaſure beyond eſtimation, he carefully conſigned them to ſeverall Libraries. He dyed in the ſeventy ſixth yeare of his age, having lived a Biſhop almoſt fourty years. Thus a Saint of God, like an oke, may be cut down in a moment; but how many years was he a growing! Not long after his death, the City of Hippo was ſack'd by the Gothes, it being no wonder if Troy was taken, when the Palladium was firſt fetch'd away from it.



NICHOLAS RIDLEY Biſhop *of* LONDON.
He died a conſtant Martyr *for the Truth, and was burnt at* Oxford *the* 16th *of Octob: 1555.* W. *Marſhall ſculp:*

CHAP. II.

The life of Biſhop RIDLEY.

NIcholas Ridley born in the Biſhoprick of Dureſme, but deſcended from the ancient and worſhipfull familie of the Ridleys of Willimotes-wike in Northumberland. He was brought up in Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge, where he ſo profited in generall Learning, that he was choſen Fellow of the Colledge, and *Anno* 1533 was Proctour of the Univerſity.

At which time two Oxford men, George Throgmorton,

and John Aſhwell, came to Cambridge, and in the publick Schools challenged any to diſpute with them on theſe queſtions,

An { *Fus civile ſit medicina præſtantius ?*
{ *Mulier condemnata, bis ruptis laqueis, ſit tertio ſuſpendenda?*

It ſeems they were men of more brow then brain, being ſo ambitious to be known, that they had rather be hiſſ'd down, then not come upon the ſtage. Sure Oxford afforded as many more able diſputants, as Civill Law yielded more profound and needfull queſtions. Throgmorton had the fortune of daring men, to be worſted, being ſo preſſed by John Redman and Nicholas * Ridley the opponents, that his ſecond refuſed at all to diſpute.

* *Cajus de Antiquit. Cant. Acad. pag.* 19, 20.

Indeed an Univerſitie is an onely fit match for an Univerſity ; and any private man who in this Nature undertakes a whole body, being of neceſsity put to the worſt, deſerves not Phaetons Epitaph, *magnis*, but *ſtultis tamen excidit auſis.* And though * one objects, *Neminem Cantabrigienſium conſtat Oxonienſes unquam ad certamen provocaſſe* ; yet leſſe learning cannot be inferred from more modeſtie. The beſt is, the two Siſters ſo well agree together, that they onely contend to ſurpaſſe each other in mutuall kindneſſe, and forbidding all duells betwixt their children, make up their joynt forces againſt the common foe of them and true Religion.

* *Brian Twine pag.* 336.

He was after choſen Maſter of Pembroke-Hall, and kept the ſame whileſt Biſhop of Rocheſter and London, till outed in the firſt of Queen Marie. Not that he was covetous to hold his place in the Colledge, but the Colledge ambitious to hold him ; as who would willingly part with a jewel. He was in good eſteem with Henrie the eighth, and in better with pious King Edward the ſixth, and was generally beloved of all the Court, being one of an handſome perſon, comelie preſence, affable ſpeech, and courteous behaviour.

But before I go further, Reader, pardon a digreſsion, and yet is it none, for 'tis neceſſary. I have within the narrow

ſcantling

ſcantling of my experimentall remembrance obſerved ſtrange alteration in the worlds valuing of thoſe learned men which lived in that age; and take it plainly without welt or gard; for he that ſmarts for ſpeaking truth, hath a playſter in his own conſcience.

When I was a child, I was poſſeſſed with a reverend eſteem of them, as moſt holy and pious men, dying Martyrs in the dayes of Queen Marie, for profeſsion of the truth; which opinion having from my Parents taken quiet poſſeſsion of my ſoul, they muſt be very forcible reaſons which eject it.

Since that time they have been much cried down in the mouthes of many, who making a *Coroners inqueſt* upon their death, have found them little better then *Felons de ſe*, dying in their own bloud, for a mere formality, *de modo*, of the manner of the Preſence, and a Sacrifice in the Sacrament, who might eaſily with one ſmall diſtinction have knockt off their fetters, and ſaved their lives. By ſuch the Coronet of Martyrdome is pluckt off from their memories; and others, more moderate, equally part their death betwixt their enemies cruelty, & their own over-forwardneſſe.

Since that, one might have expected that theſe worthy men ſhould have been re-eſtated in their former honour, whereas the contrary hath come to paſſe. For ſome who have an excellent faculty in uncharitable Synecdoches, to condemne a life for an action, and taking advantage of ſome faults in them, do much condemne them: And * one lately hath traduced them with ſuch language, as neither beſeemed his parts (whoſoever he was) that ſpake it, nor their piety of whom it was ſpoken. If pious Latimer, whoſe bluntneſſe was incapable of flattery, had his ſimplicity abuſed with falſe informations, he is called *another Doctour Shaw, to divulge in his Sermon forged accuſations.* Cranmer and Ridley, for ſome failings, ſtyled, *the common ſtales to countenance with their proſtituted gravities every politick fetch which was then on foot, as oft as the potent Statiſts pleaſed to employ them.* And, as it follows not farre after,

* *Authour of the book lately printed of Cauſes hindring Reformation in England, lib. 1. pag. 10.*

pag. 11. *Biſhop Cranmer, one of King Henries Executours, and the other Biſhops, none refuſing (leſt they ſhould reſiſt the Duke of Northumberland) could find in their conſciences to ſet their hands to the diſenabling and defeating of the Princeſſe Marie, &c.* Where Chriſtian ingenuity might have pompted unto him to have made an intimation, that Cranmer (with pious Juſtice Hales in Kent) was laſt and leaſt guilty, much refuſing to ſubſcribe; and his long reſiſting deſerved as well to be mentioned, as his yielding at laſt. Yea, that very Verſe, which Doctour Smith at the burning of Ridley uſed againſt him, is by the foreſaid Authour (though not with ſo full a blow, with a ſlenting ſtroke) applyed to thoſe Martyrs, *A man may give his body to be burnt, and yet have not charity.*

Thus the prices of Martyrs aſhes riſe and fall in Smithfield market. However their reall worth flotes not with peoples phancies, no more then a rock in the ſea riſes and falls with the tide: S. Paul is ſtill S. Paul, though the Lycaonians now would ſacrifice to him, and preſently after would ſacrifice him: Theſe Biſhops, Miniſters, and Laypeople, which were put to death in Queen Maries dayes, were worthy Saints of God, holy and godly men, but had their faults, failings, and imperfections. Had they not been men they had not burn't; yea had they not been more then men (by Gods aſsiſtance) they had not burn't. Every true Chriſtian ſhould, but none but ſtrong Chriſtians will, die at the ſtake.

But to return to Ridley: One of the greateſt things objected againſt him, was his counſell to King Edward (which the good Prince waſh'd away with his tears) about tolerating the Maſſe for Princeſſe Mary, at the interceſsion of Charles the fifth Emperour, which how great it vvas, let the indifferent party give judgement, vvhen the * Hiſtorian hath given his evidence, *The Biſhops*, of Canterbury, London, Rocheſter, *gave their opinion, that to give licence to ſinne, was ſinne, but to connive at ſinne, might be allowed, in caſe it were neither too long, nor without hope of reformation.*

* *Haywards Edward ſixth pag. 291.*

Another fault, wherewith he was charged, was that wofull

wofull and unhappy diſcord betwixt him and reverend Biſhop Hooper, about the wearing of ſome Epiſcopall garments at his conſecration (then in uſe) which Ridley preſſ'd, and Hooper refuſed with equall violence, as being too many, rather loading then gracing him; and ſo affectedly grave, that they were light again. All we will ſay is this, that when worthy men fall out, onely one of them may be faulty at the firſt, but if ſuch ſtrifes continue long, commonly both become guilty: But thus Gods diamonds often cut one another, and good men cauſe afflictions to good men.

It was the policy of the * Lacedemonians alwayes to ſend two Embaſſadours together, which diſagreed amongſt themſelves, that ſo mutually they might have an eye on the actions each of other: Sure I am that in thoſe Embaſſadours, the Miniſters, which God ſendeth to men, God ſuffereth great diſcords betwixt them, (Paul with Barnabas, Jerome with Ruffin, and Auguſtine, and the like)perchance becauſe each may be more cautious and wary of his behaviour in the view of the other. We may well behold mens weakneſſe in ſuch diſſentions, but better admire Gods ſtrength and wiſdome in ordering them to his glory, and his childrens good. Sure it is, Ridley and Hooper were afterwards cordially reconciled; and let not their diſcords pierce farther then their reconciliation: The worſt is, mens eyes are never made ſound with the clearneſſe, but often are made ſore with the bleerneſſe of other mens eyes in their company. The virtues of Saints are not ſo attractive of our imitation, as their vices and infirmities are prone to infect.

* *Ariſt. polit. lib. 2. cap. 7.*

* Ridley was very gracious with King Edward the ſixth, and by a Sermon he preach'd before him, ſo wrought upon his pious diſpoſition, whoſe Princely charity rather wanted a directour then a perſwader, that the King at his motion gave to the city of London,

* *Hayward Edward 6. p. 407. & ſequent.*

1 Greyfriers, now called Chriſt-Church, for impotent, fatherleſſe, decrepid people by age or nature to be educated or maintained.

2 S. Bartholomews near Smithfield, for poore by faculty,

ty, as wounded ſouldiers, diſeaſ'd and ſick perſons to be cur'd and relieved.

3 Bridewell, the ancient Manſion of the Engliſh Kings, for the poore by idleneſſe or unthriftyneſſe, as riotous ſpenders, vagabonds, loyterers, ſtrumpets to be corrected and reduc'd to good order.

* *Fr. Quarles Enchirid. pag.* 1.

I like that Embleme of Charity, which * one hath expreſſed *in a naked child, giving honey to a Bee without wings*; onely I would have one thing added, namely, holding *a whip in the other hand to drive away the drones*: So that King Edwards bounty was herein perfect and complete.

To return to Ridley: His whole life was a letter written full of learning and religion, whereof his death was the ſeal. Brought he was with Cranmer and Latimer to Oxford, to diſpute in the dayes of Queen Mary, though before a Syllogiſme was form'd, their deaths were concluded on, and as afterwards came to paſſe, being burnt the ſixteenth of October *Anno* 1555. in the ditch over againſt Balioll Colledge.

* *Fox. Acts Mon. An.* 1555. *Octob.*

He came to the * ſtake in a fair black gown furr'd and fac'd with foins; a Tippet of velvet, furr'd likewiſe about his neck; a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner'd cap upon the ſame.

Doctour Smith preacht a Sermon at their burning; a Sermon which had nothing good in it but the text (though miſapplyed) and the ſhortneſſe, being not above a quarter of an houre long. Old Hugh Latimer was Ridleys partner at the ſtake, ſometimes Biſhop of Worceſter, who crauled thither after him; one who had loſt more learning then many ever had, who flout at his plain Sermons; though his down-right ſtyle was as neceſſary in that ignorant age, as it would be ridiculous in ours. Indeed he condeſcended to peoples capacity; and many men unjuſtly count thoſe low in learning, who indeed do but ſtoop to their Auditours. Let me ſee any of our ſharp Wits do that with the edge, which his bluntneſſe did with the back of the knife, and perſwade ſo many to reſtitution of ill-gotten goods. Though he came after Ridley to the ſtake, he got before him to heaven:

ven : his body, made tinder by age, was no sooner touch'd by the fire, but instantly this old Simeon had his *Nunc dimittis*, and brought the news to heaven that his brother was following after.

But Ridley suffered with farre more pain, the fire about him being not well made : And yet one would think that age should be skilfull in making such bonefires, as being much practised in them. The Gunpowder that was given him, did him little service, and his Brother-in-law, out of desire to rid him out of pain, encreased it, (great grief will not give men leave to be wise with it) heaping fewell upon him to no purpose ; so that neither the fagots which his enemies anger, nor his Brothers good will cast upon him, made the fire to burn kindly.

In like manner, not much before, his dear friend Master * Hooper suffered with great torment ; the wind (which too often is the bellows of great fires) blowing it away from him once, or twice. Of all the Martyrs in those dayes, these two endured most pain, it being true that each of them,

** See Mr. Fox Acts & Mon. on Hoopers death.*

Quærebat in ignibus ignes :
And still he did desire,
For fire in midd'st of fire.

Both desiring to burn, and yet both their upper parts were but Confessours, when their lower parts were Martyrs, and burnt to ashes : Thus God, where he hath given the stronger faith, he layeth on the stronger pain. And so we leave them going up to Heaven, like Eliah, in a chariot of fire.

Chap. 12.

The true Nobleman.

HE is a Gentleman in a Text Letter, because bred, and living in an higher and larger way. Conceive him when young, brought up at School, *in ludo literario*, where he did

did not take *ludus* to himſelf, and leave *literarius* to others, but ſeriouſly applyed himſelf to learning, and afterwards coming to his eſtate, thus behaves himſelf.

Maxime 1 *Goodneſſe ſanctifies his Greatneſſe, and Greatneſſe ſupports his Goodneſſe.* He improves the upper ground whereon he ſtands, thereby to do God the more glory.

2 *He counts not care for his Countreys good to be beneath his ſtate.* Becauſe he is a great pillar, ſhall he therefore bear the leſſe weight, never meddling with matters of Juſtice? Can this be counted too low for a Lord, which is high enough for a King? our Nobleman freely ſerves his Countrey, counting his very work a ſufficient reward. (As by our * Laws no Duke, Earl, Baron, or Baronet, though Juſtices of Peace, may take any wages at the Seſsions.) Yea he deteſteth all gainfull wayes, which have the leaſt bluſh of diſhonour: For the Merchant Nobility of Florence and Venice (how highly ſoever valued by themſelves) paſſe in other countreys with loſſe and abatement of repute; as if the ſcarlet robes of their honour, had a ſtain of the ſtamell die in them.

* *Statute* 14. *of Ric.* 2. c. 11.

3 *He is carefull in the thrifty managing of his eſtate.* Gold, though the moſt ſolid and heavy of metalls, yet may be beaten out ſo thin, as to be the lighteſt and ſlighteſt of all things. Thus Nobility, though in it ſelf moſt honourable, may be ſo attenuated through the ſmalneſſe of means, as thereby to grow neglected. Which makes our Nobleman to practice Solomons precept, * *Be diligent to know the ſtate of thy flocks, and look well to thine herds; for the Crown doth not endure to every generation.* If not the *Crown*, much leſſe the *Coronet*; and good husbandry may as well ſtand with great honour, as breadth may conſiſt with height.

* *Prov.* 27. 23.

4 *If a weak eſtate be left him by his Anceſters, he ſeeks to repair it,* by thrifty wayes, yet noble: as by travelling, ſparing abroad, till his ſtate at home may outgrow debts and penſions: Hereby he gains experience, and ſaves expence, ſometimes living private, ſometimes ſhewing himſelf at an half light, and ſometimes appearing like himſelf as occaſion requires;

or

or elſe by betaking himſelf to the warres: Warre cannot but in thankfulneſſe grace him with an Office, which graceth her with his perſon; or elſe by warlike ſea-adventures wiſely undertaken, and providently managed: otherwiſe, this courſe hath emptied more full, then filled empty purſes, and many thereby have brought a Galeon to a Gally; or laſtly, by match with wealthy Heirs, wherein he is never ſo attentive to his profit, but he liſtens alſo to his honour.

In proportion to his means, he keeps a liberall houſe. This much takes the affections of countrey people, whoſe love is much warmed in a good kitchin, and turneth much on the hinges of a buttery-doore often open. Francis Ruſſell, ſecond Earl of Bedford of that ſirname, was ſo bountifnll to the poore, that Queen Elizabeth would merrily complain of him, that he made all the beggers: ſure 'tis more honourable for Noblemen to make beggers by their liberality, then by their oppreſsion. But our Nobleman is eſpecially carefull, to ſee all things diſcharged which he taketh up. When the corps of Thomas Howard ſecond Duke of Norfolk were carried to be interred in the Abbey of Thetford, *Anno* 1524. no perſon could demand of him one * groat for debt, or reſtitution for any injury done by him. 5

His ſervants are beſt known by the coat and cognizance of their civili behaviour. He will not entertain ſuch ruffianlike men, who know ſo well who is their Maſter, that they know not who they are themſelves, and think their Lords reference is their innocence, to bear them out in all unlawfull actions. But our Lords houſe is the Colledge wherein the children of the neighbouring Gentry and Yeomanry are bred, and there taught by ſerving of him to rule themſelves. 6

He hateth all oppreſsion of his tenants and neighbours; diſdaining to cruſh a mean Gentleman for a meaner offence; and counts it no conqueſt but an execution from him, who on his ſide hath the oddes of height of place, ſtrength of arme, and length of weapon. But as the Proverb ſaith, *No graſſe grows where the grand Seignieurs horſe ſets his feet*; ſo too often nothing but graſſe grows where ſome Great men ſet their footing, 7

* *Weavers fun. Mon. pag.* 839.

footing, no towns or tillage, for all must be turn'd into depopulating pastures, and commons into enclosures. Nigh the city of Lunenberg in Germany, flowed a plentifull salt spring, till such time as the rich men, engrosing all the profit to themselves, would not suffer the poore to make any salt thereof; whereupon God and Nature being offended at their covetousnesse, the spring * ceased, and ran no more for a time. Thus hath Gods punishment overtaken many great men, and stopp'd his blessing towards them, which formerly flowed plentifully unto them, for that they have wronged poore people of their commonage, which of right belonged unto them.

* *Morisons Travells, chap. 1. Part. 1. pag. 5. Yet afterward upon readmission of the poore to it, it ran again.*

8 *In his own pleasures he is carefull of his neighbours profit.* Though his horses cannot have wings like his hawks to spoil no grasse or grain as he passeth, yet he is very carefull to make as little waste as possible may be: his horses shall not trample on loaves of bread as he hunteth, so that whilest he seeks to gather a twig for himself, he breaks the staff of the Common-wealth.

9 *All the countrey are his Retainers in love and observance.* When they come to wait on him, they leave not their hearts at home behind them, but come willingly to tender their respects. The holding up of his hand, is as good as the displaying of a banner; thousands will flock to him, but it must be for the Kings and Countreys service. For he knows that he who is more then a Lord, if his cause be loyall; is lesse then a private man, if it be otherwise: with S. * Paul, *he can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.* Thus Queen Elizabeth christened the youngest daughter of Gilbert Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury (now Countesse of Arundell) *Aletheia, Truth,* out of true * consideration and judgement, that the house of the Talbots was ever loyall to the Crown.

* 2. Cor. 13. 8.

* *Vincents discov. of Brooks Errours, pag. 470.*

10 *Some priviledges of Noblemen he endeavours to deserve*: namely such priviledges as are completely Noble, that so his merits as well as the Law should allow them unto him. He conceives this word, *On mine Honour*, wraps up a great deal in it;

it; which unfolded and then measured, will be found to be a large attestation, and no lesse then an eclipticall oath, calling God to witnesse, who hath bestowed that Honour upon him. And seeing the State is so tender of him, that he shall not be forced to swear in matters of moment in Courts of Justice, he is carefull not to swear of his own accord in his sports and pleasures. Other priviledges of Noblemen he labours not to have need of, namely such as presuppose a fault, are but honourable penalties, and excuse from shamefull punishments. Thus he is not to be *bound to the* * *peace*. And what needs he; who hath the peace alwayes bound to him, being of his own accord alwayes carefull to preserve it, and of so noble a disposition, he will never be engaged in any braules or contentions.

* *Lamb. Justice of Peace, pag. 85.*

To give an instance of such a Nobleman seems to be needlesse, hoping that at this time in one city of this Realm, and in one room of that city, many such Noblemen are to be found together.

Chap. 13.

The Court-Lady.

TO describe an Holy State without a virtuous Lady therein, were to paint out a yeare without a Spring: we come therefore to her Character.

Maxime 1

She sets not her face so often by her glasse, as she composeth her soul by Gods word. Which hath all the excellent qualities of a glasse indeed.

1 It is clear: in all points necessary to Salvation, except to such whose eyes are blinded.

2 It is true: not like those false glasses some Ladyes dresse themselves by. And how common is flattery at Court, when even glasses have learnt to be parasites?

3 It is large; presenting all spots Cap-a-pe, behind and before, within and without.

4 It is durable : though in one ſenſe it is broken too often (when Gods Laws are neglected), yet, it will laſt to break them that break it, and *one tittle thereof ſhall not fall to the ground.*

5 This glaſſe hath power to ſmooth the wrinkles, cleanſe the ſpots, and mend the faults it diſcovers.

2 *She walks humbly before God in all religious duties.* Humbly : For ſhe well knows that the ſtrongeſt Chriſtian is like the city of Rome, which was never beſieged but it was taken; and the beſt Saint without Gods aſsiſtance, would be as often foyled as tempted. She is moſt conſtant and diligent at her houres of private prayer. Queen Katharine Dowager never kneeld on a * cuſhion when ſhe was at her devotions : This matters not at all ; our Lady is more carefull of her heart then of her knees, that her ſoul be ſettled aright.

* *Sanderſ. de Schiſm. Anglic. lib. 1. p. 5.*

3 *She it carefull and moſt tender of her credit and reputation.* There is a tree in * Mexicana which is ſo exceedingly tender, that a man cannot touch any of his branches, but it withers preſently. A Ladyes credit is of equall niceneſſe, a ſmall touch may wound and kill it ; which makes her very cautious what company ſhe keeps. The Latine tongue ſeems ſomewhat injurious to the feminine ſex ; for whereas therein *Amicus* is a friend, *Amica* alwayes ſignifies a Sweetheart ; as if their ſex in reference to men, were not capable of any other kind of familiar friendſhip, but in way to marriage : which makes our Lady avoid all privacie with ſuſpicious company.

* *Doctour Heylens Microcoſ. pag. 783.*

4 *Yet is ſhe not more carefull of her own credit, then of Gods glory* ; and ſtands up valiantly in the defence thereof. She hath read how at the Coronation of King Richard the ſecond, Dame * Margaret Dimock, wife to Sr John Dimock, came into the Court, and claimed the place to be the Kings Champion, by the virtue of the tenure of her Mannour of Scrinelby in Lincolnſhire, to challenge and defie all ſuch as oppoſed the Kings right to the Crown. But if our Lady heares any ſpeaking diſgracefully of God or Religion, ſhe counts her ſelf bound by her tenure (whereby ſhe holds poſſeſsion of

* *She claimed the place, but her husband performed the office, Lelands Colle. Tit. 1. pag. 299.*

of grace here, and reverſion of glory hereafter) to aſſert and vindicate the honour of the King of Heaven, whoſe Champion ſhe profeſſeth to be. One may be a lambe in private wrongs, but in hearing generall affronts to goodneſſe, they are aſſes which are not lions.

5 *She is pitifull and bountifull to people in diſtreſſe.* We reade how a daughter of the Duke of Exeter, invented a brake or cruel rack to torment people withall, to which purpoſe it was long reſerved, and often uſed in the Tower of London, and commonly called (was it not fit ſo pretty a babe ſhould bear her mothers name?) The * Duke of Exeters daughter. Me thinks the finding out of a ſalve to eaſe poore people in pain, had born better proportion to her Ladiſhip, then to have been the inventer of inſtruments of cruelty.

* *Vid. Stowes Chron. in the reigne of King Edward the fourth.*

6 *She is a good ſcholar, and well learned in uſefull Authours.* Indeed as in purchaſes an houſe is valued at nothing, becauſe it returneth no profit, and requires great charges to maintain it; ſo for the ſame reaſons, Learning in a woman is but little to be prized. But as for great Ladyes, who ought to be a confluence of all rarities and perfections, ſome Learning in them is not onely uſefull, but neceſſary.

7 *In diſcourſe, her words are rather fit then fine, very choice and yet not choſen.* Though her language be not gaudy, yet the plainneſſe thereof pleaſeth, it is ſo proper, and handſomly put on. Some, having *a ſet of fine phraſes*, will hazard an impertinency to uſe them all, as thinking they give full ſatisfaction, for dragging in the matter by head and ſhoulders, if they dreſſe it in queint expreſsions. Others often repeat the ſame things: the Platonick yeare of their diſcourſes being not above three dayes long, in which term all the ſame matter returns over again, threadbare talk ill ſuiting with the variety of their clothes.

8 *She affects not the vanity of fooliſh faſhions*; but is decently apparelled according to her ſtate and condition. He that ſhould have gueſſed the bigneſſe of Alexanders ſouldiers, by their ſhields left in India, would much overproportion

their true greatneſſe. But what a vaſt overgrown creature would ſome gueſſe a woman to be, taking his aim by the multitude and variety of clothes and ornaments, which ſome of them uſe: inſomuch as the ancient Latines called a womans wardrope, *Mundus*, *a World*; wherein notwithſtanding was much *terra incognita* then undiſcovered, but ſince found out by the curioſity of modern Faſhion-mongers. We find a mappe of this world drawn by Gods Spirit, Iſaiah the third, wherein one and twenty womens ornaments (all ſuperfluous) are reckoned up, which at this day are much encreaſed. *The* * *Moons*, there mentioned, which they wore on their heads, may ſeem ſince grown to the full in the luxury of afterages.

* *Iſaiah.* 3. 18.

9 *She is contented with that beauty which God hath given her.* If very handſome, no whit the more proud, but farre the more thankfull: If unhandſome, ſhe labours to better it in the virtues of her mind; that what is but plain cloth without, may be rich pluſh within. Indeed ſuch naturall defects as hinder her comfortable ſerving of God in her calling, may be amended by art; and any member of the body being defective, may thereby be lawfully ſupplied. Thus glaſſe-eyes may be uſed, though not for ſeeing, for ſightlineſſe. But our Lady deteſteth all adulterate complexions, finding no preſident thereof in the Bible ſave one, and her ſo bad, that Ladyes would bluſh through their paint, to make her the pattern of their imitation. Yet are there many that think the groſſeſt fault in painting, is to paint groſſely (making their faces with thick daubing, not onely new pictures, but new ſtatues) and that the greateſt ſinne therein, is to be diſcover'd.

10 *In her marriage ſhe principally reſpects virtue and religion,* and next that, other accomodations, as we have * formerly diſcourſ'd of. And ſhe is carefull in match, not to beſtow her ſelf unworthily beneath her own degree to an ignoble perſon, except in caſe of neceſsity. Thus the Gentlewomen * in Champaigne in France ſome three hundred years ſince, were enforced to marry Yeomen and Farmers, becauſe all

* *Vid. 3. Book chap. of Marriage.*

* *Andr. Favin in his Theater of Honour, 1. Book, chap the 6.*

all the Nobility in that countrey were ſlain in the warres, in the two voyages of King Lewis to Paleſtine: and thereupon ever ſince by cuſtome and priviledge, the Gentlewomen of Champaigne and Brye ennoble their husbands, and give them honour in marrying them, how mean ſoever before.

Though pleaſantly affected, ſhe is not tranſported with Court-delights: as in their ſtatelie Maſques and Pageants. Seeing Princes cares are deeper then the cares of private men, it is fit their recreations alſo ſhould be greater, that ſo their mirth may reach the bottome of their ſadneſſe: yea God allows to Princes a greater latitude of pleaſure. He is no friend to the tree, that ſtrips it of the bark; neither do they mean well to Majeſtie, which would deprive it of outward ſhews, and State-ſolemnities, which the ſervants of Princes may in loyalty and reſpect preſent to their Sovereigne; however, our Lady by degrees is brought from delighting in ſuch Maſques, onely to be contented to ſee them, and at laſt (perchance) could deſire to be excuſed from that alſo. 11

Yet in her reduced thoughts ſhe makes all the ſport ſhe hath ſeen earneſt to her ſelf: It muſt be a dry flower indeed out of which this bee ſucks no honey: they are the beſt Origens, who do allegoriſe all earthly vanities into heavenly truths. When ſhe remembreth how ſuddenly the Scene in the Maſque was altered (almoſt before moment it ſelf could take notice of it) ſhe conſidereth, how quickly mutable all things are in this world, God *ringing the changes* on all accidents, and making them tunable to his glorie: The lively repreſenting of things ſo curiouſly, that Nature her ſelf might grow jealous of **Art**, in outdoing her, minds our Lady to make ſure work with her own ſoul, ſeeing hypocriſie may be ſo like to ſincerity. But, O what a wealthy exchequer of beauties did ſhe there behold, ſeverall faces moſt different, moſt excellent, (ſo great is the variety even in beſts) what a rich mine of jewels above ground, all ſo brave, ſo coſtly! To give Court-maſques their due, of 12

all the bubbles in this world, they have the greateſt variety of fine colours. But all is quickly ended: this is the ſpight of the world, if ever ſhe affordeth fine ware, ſhe alwayes pincheth it in the meaſure, and it laſts not long: But oh, thinks our Lady, how glorious a place is Heaven, *where there are joyes for evermore.* If an herd of kine ſhould meet together to phancy and define happineſſe, they would place it to conſiſt in fine paſtures, ſweet graſſe, clear water, ſhadowie groves, conſtant ſummer; but if any winter, then warm ſhelter and dainty hay, with company after their kind, counting theſe low things the higheſt happineſſe, becauſe their conceit can reach no higher. Little better do the Heathen Poets deſcribe Heaven, paving it with pearl, and roofing it with ſtarres, filling it with Gods and Goddeſſes, and allowing them to drink (as if without it no Poets Paradiſe) Nectar and Ambroſia; Heaven indeed being *Poetarum dedecus*, the ſhame of Poets, and the diſgrace of all their Hyperboles, falling as farre ſhort of truth herein, as they go beyond it in other Fables. However the ſight of ſuch glorious earthly ſpectacles, advantageth our Ladyes conceit by infinite multiplication thereof to conſider of Heaven.

13 *She reades conſtant lectures to her ſelf of her own mortality.* To ſmell to a turf of freſh earth is wholſome for the body; no leſſe are thoughts of mortality cordiall to the ſoul. *Earth thou art, to earth thou ſhalt return*: The ſight of death when it cometh will neither be ſo terrible to her, nor ſo ſtrange, who hath formerly often beheld it in her ſerious meditations. * *Job* 17. 14. With * Job ſhe ſaith to the worm, *Thou art my ſiſter*: If fair Ladyes ſcorn to own the worms their kinred in this life, their kinred will be bold to challenge them when dead in their graves: for when the ſoul (the beſt perfume of the body) is departed from it, it becomes ſo noyſome a carcaſe, that ſhould I make a deſcription of the lothſomneſſe thereof, ſome dainty dames would hold their noſes in reading it.

To conclude: We reade how Henry a Germain Prince, was admoniſhed by revelation to ſearch for a writing in an old

old wall, which ſhould nearly concern him, wherein he found onely theſe two words written, * POST SEX, AFTER SIX. Whereupon Henry conceived that his death was foretold, which after ſix dayes ſhould enſue, which made him paſſe thoſe dayes in conſtant preparation for the ſame. But finding the ſix dayes paſt without the effect he expected, he ſucceſsively perſevered in his godly reſolutions ſix weeks, ſix moneths, ſix years, and on the firſt day of the ſeventh yeare the Prophecie was fulfill'd, though otherwiſe then he interpreted it; for thereupon he was choſen Emperour of Germany, having before gotten ſuch an habit of piety, that he perſiſted in his religious courſe for ever after. Thus our Lady hath ſo inur'd her ſelf, *all the dayes of her appointed time to wait till her change cometh*, that expecting it every houre, ſhe is alwayes provided for that, then which nothing is more certain or uncertain.

* *Surius in vita Sancti Henr. July 14. & Baronius in Anno 1007.*

JANE GRAY *proclaimed* Queen *of* England *wife to the* Lord GILFORD DUDLEY. *She was beheaded on Tower-hill in* London *Februarie y^e* 12. 1553. *at* 18 *yeares of Age.* W.M. *sculp*

Chap. 14.

The life of Ladie Jane Grey.

JAne Grey, eldeſt daughter of Henry Grey Marqueſſe of Dorſet, and Duke of Suffolk, by Francis Brandon eldeſt daughter of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, and Mary his wife youngeſt daughter to King Henrie the ſeventh, was by her parents bred according to her high birth, in Religion and Learning. They were no whit indulgent to her in her childhood, but extremely ſevere, more then needed to ſo ſweet a temper; for what need iron inſtruments to bow wax?

But

But as the ſharpeſt winters (correcting the rankneſſe of the earth) cauſe the more healthfull and fruitfull ſummers : ſo the harſhneſſe of her breeding, compacted her ſoul to the greater patience and pietie, ſo that afterwards ſhe proved the miroir of her age, and attained to be an excellent Scholar through the teaching of Mr Elmer her Maſter.

Once Mr Roger Aſcham, coming to wait on her at Broadgates in Leiceſterſhire, found her in her chamber reading * Phœdon-Platonis in Greek, with as much delight as ſome Gentleman would have read a merry tale in Bocchace, *Whileſt the Duke her father with the Dutcheſſe, and all their houſhold were hunting in the Park* : He askt of her, how ſhe could loſe ſuch paſtime ? who ſmiling anſwered, *I wiſſe all the ſport in the Park is but the ſhadow of what pleaſure I find in this book* ; adding moreover, that one of the greateſt bleſsings God ever gave her, was in ſending her ſharp parents, and a gentle Schoolmaſter, which made her take delight in nothing ſo much as in her ſtudies.

* *Aſcham's Schoolmaſter, lib. 1. fol. 10.*

About this time John Dudley Duke of Northumberland projected for the Engliſh Crown : But being too low to reach it in his own perſon, having no advantage of royall birth, a match was made betwixt Guilford his fourth ſonne, and this Lady Jane ; the Duke hoping ſo to reigne in his daughter-in-law, on whom King Edward the ſixth by will, paſsing by his own ſiſters, had entayled the Crown : And not long after that godly King, who had ſome defects, but few faults (and thoſe rather in his age then perſon) came to his grave ; it being uncertain whether he went, or was ſent thither. If the latter be true, *the crying of this Saint under the Altar*, beneath which he was buried in King Henries Chappell (without any other monument, then that of his own virtues) hath been heard long ſince for avenging his bloud.

Preſently after Lady Jane was proclaimed Queen of England. She lifted not up her leaſt finger to put the Diadem on her ſelf, but was onely contented to ſit ſtill, whileſt others endeavoured to Crown her ; or rather was ſo farre from 1553

from biting at the bait of Sovereignty, that unwillingly ſhe opened her mouth to receive it.

Then was the Duke of Northumberland made Generall of an Army, and ſent into Suffolk to ſuppreſſe the Lady Marie, who there gathered men to claim the Crown. This Duke was appointed out of the policie of his friend-ſeeming enemies for that employment: For thoſe, who before could not endure the ſcorching heat of his diſpleaſure at the Counſell-table, durſt afterwards oppoſe him, having gotten the skreen of London-walls betwixt him and them. They alſo ſtinted his journeys every day (thereby appointing the ſteps by which he was to go down to his own grave) that he ſhould march on very ſlowly, which cauſed his confuſion. For lingring doth tire out treacherous deſignes, which are to be done all on a ſudden, and gives breath to loyalty to recover it ſelf.

His army like a ſheep, left part of his fleece on every buſh it came by, at every ſtage and corner ſome conveying themſelves from him, till his Souldiers were waſh'd away, before any ſtorm of warre fell upon them. Onely ſome few, who were chain'd to the Duke by their particular engagements, and ſome great Perſons hopeleſſe to conceal themſelves, as being too big for a cover, ſtuck faſt unto him. Thus thoſe enterpriſes need a ſtrong hand, which are thrown againſt the bias of peoples hearts and conſciences. And not long after, the Norfolk and Suffolk Proteſtant Gentry (Loyaltie alwayes lodgeth in the ſame breaſt with true Religion) proclaimed and ſet up Queen Marie, who got the Crown by *Our Father*, and held it by *Pater noſter*.

Then was the late Queen, now Lady Jane Grey, brought from a Queen to a priſoner, and committed to the Tower. She made miſery it ſelf amiable by her pious and patient behaviour: Adverſitie, her night-clothes, becoming her as well as her day-dreſsing, by reaſon of her pious deportment.

During her impriſonment, many moved her to alter her religion, and eſpecially Mr Fecnam ſent unto her by Queen Mary:

Mary: but how wiſely and religiouſly ſhe anſwer'd him, I referre the Reader to Mr Fox,* where it is largely recorded.

And becauſe I have mentioned that Book, wherein this Ladyes virtues are ſo highly commended, I am not ignorant that of late great diſgrace hath been thrown on that Authour, and his worthy Work, as being guilty of much falſehood: chiefly, becauſe ſometimes he makes Popiſh Doctours, well known to be rich in learning, to reaſon very poorely; and the beſt Fencers of their Schools, worſted and put out of their play by ſome countrey poore Proteſtants. But let the cavillers hereat know, that it is a great matter to have the oddes of the weapon, Gods word on their ſide; not to ſay any thing of ſupernaturall aſsiſtance given them. Sure for the main, his Book is a worthy work (wherein the Reader may rather leave then lack) and ſeems to me, like Ætna, alwayes burning, whileſt the ſmoke hath almoſt put out the eyes of the adverſe party; and theſe *Foxes firebrands* have brought much annoyance to the *Romiſh Philiſtines*. But it were a miracle if in ſo voluminous a work, there were nothing to be juſtly reproved; ſo great a Pomgranate not having any rotten kernell muſt onely grow in Paradiſe. And though perchance he held the beam at the beſt advantage for the Proteſtant partie to weigh down, yet, generally he is a true Writer, and never vvilfully deceiveth, though he may ſometimes be unwillingly deceived.

To return to the Lady Jane: Though Queen Marie of her own diſpoſition was inclined finally to pardon her, yet neceſsity of State was ſuch, as ſhe muſt be put to death. Some report her to have been with child when ſhe was beheaded (crueltie to cut down the tree with bloſſomes on it), and that that which hath ſaved the life of many women, haſtned her death; but God onely knows the truth hereof. On Tower-hill ſhe moſt patiently, Chriſtianly, and conſtantly yielded to God her ſoul, which by a bad way went to the beſt end. On whom the foreſaid Authour (whence the reſt of her life may be ſupplied) beſtowes theſe verſes, 1553. *Feb.* 12.

Neſcio

* *Acts and Monum. pag. 1419. & deinceps.*

Neſcio tu quibus es, Lector, lecturus ocellis:
Hoc ſcio, quod ſiccis ſcribere non potui.
What eyes thou readſt with, Reader, know I not:
Mine were not drie, when I this ſtorie wrote.

She had the innocencie of childhood, the beautie of youth, the ſoliditie of middle, the gravitie of old age, and all at eighteen: the birth of a Princeſſe, the learning of a Clerk, the life of a Saint, yet the death of a Malefactour, for her parents offenſes. I confeſſe, I never read of any canonized Saint of her name, a thing whereof ſome Papiſts are ſo ſcrupulous, that they count it an unclean and unhallowed thing to be of a name whereof never any Saint was: which made that great Jeſuit Arthur Faunt (as his * kinſman tell's us) change his Chriſtian name to Laurence. But let this worthy Lady paſſe for a Saint; and let all great Ladyes, which bear her name, imitate her virtues, to whom I wiſh her inward holineſſe, but farre more outward happineſſe.

* *Burton of Leiceſterſhire, pag. 105.*

Yet leſt Goodneſſe ſhould be diſcouraged by this Ladyes infelicitie, we will produce another example, which ſhall be of a fortunate virtue.

ELIZABETH Queen *of* England. *She dyed at* Richmond *the* 24th *of March* 1602. *in the* 44th *yeare of Her Raign and* 70th *of Her Life.*

W *Marshall sculp:*

Chap. 15.

The life of Queen Elizabeth.

WE intermeddle not with her description as she was a Sovereigne Prince, too high for our pen, and performed by others already, though not by any done so fully, but that still room is left for the endeavours of Posterity to adde thereunto. We consider her onely as she was a worthy Lady, her private virtues rendring her to the imitation, and her publick to the admiration of all.

Her royall birth by her Fathers side, doth comparatively

make her Mother-deſcent ſeem low, which otherwiſe conſidered in it ſelf was very noble and honourable. As for the bundle of ſcandalous aſperſions by ſome caſt on her birth, they are beſt to be buried without once * opening of them. For as the baſeſt raſcall will preſume to miſcall the beſt Lord, when farre enough out of his hearing; ſo ſlanderous tongues think they may run riot in railing on any, when once got out of the diſtance of time, and reach of confutation.

* *See theſe ſlanders plainly confuted in Anti-Sander. Dialog. 2. pag. 125. & deinceps.*

But Majeſtie which dieth not, will not ſuffer it ſelf to be ſo abuſed, ſeeing the beſt aſſurance which living Princes have, that their memories ſhall be honourably continued, is founded (next to their own deſerts) in the maintaining of the unſtained reputation of their Predeceſſours. Yea divine Juſtice ſeems herein to be a compurgatour of the parents of Queen Elizabeth; in that Nicholas Sanders, a Popiſh Prieſt, the firſt raiſer of theſe wicked reports, was accidentally famiſhed as he roved up and down in Ireland; either becauſe it was juſt he ſhould be ſterved, that formerly ſurfeted with lying; or becauſe that Iland out of a naturall antipathy againſt poyſonous creatures, would not lend life to ſo venemous a ſlanderer.

Under the reigne of her Father, and Brother King Edward the ſixth, (who commonly called her his Siſter Temperance) ſhe lived in a Princely faſhion. But the caſe was altered with her, when her Siſter Marie came to the Crown, who ever look'd upon her with a jealous eye, and frowning face: chiefly, becauſe of the difference betwixt them in religion. For though Queen Marie is ſaid of her ſelf not ſo much as to have bark'd, yet ſhe had under her thoſe who did more then bite; and rather her religion then diſpoſition was guiltie in countenancing their crueltie by her authoritie.

This antipathy againſt her Siſter Elizabeth was encreaſed, with the remembrance how Katharine Dowager, Queen Maries Mother, was juſtled out of the bed of Henrie the eighth by Anna Bullen, Mother to Queen Elizabeth: ſo that theſe

these two Sisters were born, as I may say, not onely in severall, but opposite horizons; so that the elevation and bright appearing of the one, inferr'd the necessary obscuritie and depression of the other; and still Queen Marie was troubled with this *fit of the Mother*, which incensed her against this her half Sister.

To which two grand causes of opposition, this third may also be added, because not so generally known, though in it self of lesser consequence. Queen Marie had released Edward Courtney Earl of Devonshire out of the Tower, where long he had been detained prisoner, a Gentleman of a beautifull body, sweet nature, and royall descent, intending him, as it was generally conceived, to be an husband for her self. For when the said Earl petitioned the Queen for leave to travel, she advised him rather to marry, ensuring him that no Lady in the land, how high soever, would refuse him for an husband; and urging him to make his choice where he pleased, she pointed her self out unto him as plainly, as might stand with the modesty of a maid, and Majestie of a Queen. Hereupon the young Earl (whether because that his long durance had some influence on his brain, or that naturally his face was better then his head, or out of some private phancie and affection to the Lady Elizabeth, or out of loyall bashfulnesse, not presuming to climbe higher, but expecting to be call'd up) is said to have requested the Queen for leave to marry her Sister the Lady Elizabeth, unhappy that his choice either went so high or no higher: For who could have spoken worse Treason against Mary (though not against the Queen) then to preferre her Sister before her? and she, innocent Lady, did afterwards dearly pay the score of this Earls indiscretion.

For these reasons, Lady Elizabeth was closely kept, and narrowly sifted all her Sisters reigne, Sr Bedenifield her keeper using more severity towards her, then his place required, yea more then a good man should, or a wiseman would have done. No doubt the least tripping of her foot, should have cost her the losing of her head, if they

could have caught her to be privie to any conſpiracies.

This Lady as well deſerved the title, of *Elizabeth the Confeſſour*, as ever Edward her ancient predeceſſour did. Mr Aſcham was a good Schoolmaſter to her, but affliction was a better; ſo that it is hard to ſay, whether ſhe was more happy in having a Crown ſo ſoon, or in having it no ſooner, till affliction had firſt laid in her a low (and therefore ſure) foundation of humility, for highneſſe to be afterwards built thereupon.

We bring her now from the Croſſe to the Crown; and come we now to deſcribe the rare endowments of her mind, when behold her virtues almoſt ſtifle my pen, they crowd in ſo faſt upon it.

She was an excellent Scholar, underſtanding the Greek, and perfectly ſpeaking the Latine: witneſſe her extempore ſpeech, in anſwer to the Poliſh Embaſſadour, and another at Cambridge, *Et ſi fœminilis iſte meus pudor* (for ſo it began) elegantly making the word * *Fœminilis*: and well might ſhe mint one new word, who did * refine ſo much new gold and ſilver. Good skill ſhe had in the French, and Italian, uſing Interpreters not for need, but ſtate. She was a good Poet in Engliſh, and fluently made verſes. In her time of perſecution, when a Popiſh Prieſt preſſed her very hardly, to declare her opinion concerning the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, ſhe truly and warily preſented her judgement in theſe verſes,

'Twas God the Word that ſpake it,
He took the bread and brake it;
And what the Word did make it,
That I believe, and take it.

And though perchance ſome may ſay, this was but the beſt of ſhifts, and the worſt of anſwers, becauſe the diſtinct manner of the Preſence muſt be believed; yet none can deny it to have been a wiſe return to an adverſary, who lay at wait for all advantages. Nor was her Poetick vein leſſe happy in Latine. When a little before the Spaniſh Invaſion in eightie eight, the Spaniſh Embaſſadour (after a larger repreſentation

* *See her oration at large in Holinſhead, pag.* 1026.

* Moneta ad ſuum valorem reducta, *is part of the Epitaph on her Tombe.*

preſentation of his Maſters demands) had ſummed up the effect thereof in a Tetraſtich, ſhe inſtantly in one verſe rejoyned her anſwer. We will preſume to Engliſh both, though confeſsing the Latine loſeth luſtre by the Tranſlation.

Te veto nè pergas bello defendere Belgas :
Quæ Dracus eripuit nunc reſtituentur oportet :
Quas Pater evertit jubeo te condere cellas :
Relligio Papæ fac reſtituetur ad unguem.
Theſe to you are our commands,
Send no help to th' Netherlands :
Of the treaſure took by Drake,
Reſtitution you muſt make :
And thoſe Abbies build anew,
Which your Father overthrew :
If for any peace you hope,
In all points reſtore the Pope.
The Queens extempore return,
Ad Græcas, bone Rex, fient mandata calendas.
Worthy King, know this your will
At latter lammas wee'l fulfill.

Her pietie to God was exemplary, none more conſtant or devout in private prayers ; very attentive alſo at Sermons, wherein ſhe was better affected with ſoundneſſe of matter, then queintneſſe of expreſsion : She could not well digeſt the affected over-elegancie of ſuch, as prayed for her by the title of *Defendreſſe of the faith*, and not the *Defender* ; it being no falſe conſtruction, to apply a maſculine word to ſo heroick a ſpirit.

She was very devout in returning thanks to God, for her conſtant and continuall preſervations ; for one traitours ſtab was ſcarce put by, before another took aim at her : But as if the poyſons of treaſon by cuſtome, were turn'd naturall unto her, by Gods protection they did her no harm. In any deſigne of conſequence, ſhe loved to be long and well adviſed ; but where her reſolutions once ſeiſ'd, ſhe would never let go her hold, according to her motto, *Semper eadem.*

By her Temperance ſhe improved that ſtock of health which Nature beſtowed on her, uſing little wine, and leſſe Phyſick. Her Continence from pleaſures was admirable, and ſhe the Paragon of ſpotleſſe chaſtity, what ever ſome Popiſh Prieſts (who count all virginitie hid under a Nunnes veil) have feigned to the contrary. The beſt is, their words are no ſlander, whoſe words are all ſlander; ſo given to railing, that they muſt be dumbe if they do not blaſpheme Magiſtrates. * One Jeſuit made this falſe Anagram on her name,

Elizabeth.
* *Jeſabel.*

* *Edmond Campian.*

* *Our Engliſh Bibles call her Jezabel.*

falſe both in matter and manner. For allow it the abatemen of H, (as all Anagrams muſt ſue in Chancery for moderate favour), yet was it both unequall and omnious that T, a ſolid letter, ſhould be omitted, the preſage of the gallows whereon this Anagrammatiſt was afterwards juſtly executed.

Yea let the teſtimonie of Pope * Sixtus Quintus himſelf be believed, who profeſſed, that amongſt all the Princes in Chriſtendome, he found but two which were worthy to bear command, had they not been ſtained with hereſie, namely Henrie the fourth, King of France, and Elizabeth Queen of England. And we may preſume that the Pope, if commending his enemie, is therein infallible.

* *Thuan. Hiſt. lib. 82.*

We come to her death, the diſcourſe whereof was more welcome to her from the mouth of her private Confeſſour, then from a publick Preacher; and ſhe loved rather to tell her ſelf, then to be told of her mortalitie; becauſe the open mention thereof, made (as ſhe conceived) her ſubjects divide their loyaltie betwixt the preſent and the future Prince. We need look into no other cauſe of her ſickneſſe, then old age, being ſeventie years old (Davids age), to which no King of England ſince the Conqueſt did attain. Her weakneſſe was encreaſed by her removall from London to Richmond in a cold winter day, ſharp enough to pierce thorow thoſe who were arm'd with health and youth. Alſo melancholy

choly (the worſt naturall Paraſite, whoſoever feeds him, ſhall never be rid of his company) much afflicted her, being given over to ſadneſſe and ſilence.

Then prepared ſhe her ſelf for another world, being more conſtant in prayer, and pious exerciſes then ever before : yet ſpake ſhe very little to any, ſighing out more then ſhe ſaid, and making ſtill muſick to God in her heart. And as the red roſe, though outwardly not ſo fragrant, is inwardly farre more cordiall then the damask, being more thriftie of its ſweetneſſe, and reſerving it in it ſelf ; ſo the religion of this dying Queen, was moſt turn'd inward in ſoliloquies betwixt God and her own ſoul, though ſhe vvanted not outvvard expreſsions thereof. When her ſpeech fail'd her, ſhe ſpake vvith her heart, tears, eyes, hands, and other ſignes, ſo commending her ſelf to God the beſt interpreter, vvho underſtands vvhat his Saints deſire to ſay. Thus dyed Queen Elizabeth, vvhileſt living the firſt maid on earth, and vvhen dead, the ſecond in heaven.

Surely the kingdome had dyed vvith their Queen, had not the fainting ſpirits thereof been refreſh'd, by the coming in of gratious King James.

She vvas of perſon, tall ; of hair and complexion, fair, vvell-favoured, but high-noſed ; of limbes and feature, neat ; of a ſtately and majeſtick deportment. She had a piercing eye vvherewith ſhe uſed to touch vvhat metall ſtrangers vvere made of, vvhich came into her preſence. But as ſhe counted it a pleaſant conqueſt, vvith her Majeſtick look to daſh ſtrangers out of countenance, ſo ſhe vvas mercifull in purſuing thoſe vvhom ſhe overcame, and aftervvards vvould cheriſh and comfort them vvith her ſmiles, if perceiving tovvardlineſſe, and an ingenuous modeſtie in them. She much affected rich and coſtly apparell ; and if ever jevvells had juſt cauſe to be proud, it vvas vvith her vvearing them.

Chap. 16.

The Embaſſadour.

HE is one that repreſents his King in a ſorrein countrey, (as a Deputie doth in his own Dominions) under the aſſurance of the publick faith, authorized by the Law of Nations. He is either Extraordinary for ſome one affair with time limited; or Ordinarie for generall matters, during his Princes pleaſure, commonly called a Legier.

Maxime 1

He is born, made, or at leaſtwiſe qualified honourably, both for the honour of the ſender, and him to whom he is ſent; eſpecially if the ſolemnitie of the action wherein he is employed, conſiſteth in ceremonie, and magnificence. Lewis the eleventh King of France, is ſufficiently condemn'd by Poſteritie, for ſending Oliver his Barber in an Embaſſage to a Princeſſe, who ſo trimly diſpatch'd his buſineſſe, that he left it in the ſuddes, and had been well waſh'd in the river * at Gant for his pains, if his feet had not been the more nimble.

*Comin. lib. 5. cap. 14.

2

He is of a proper, at leaſt paſſable perſon. Otherwiſe if he be of a contemptible preſence, he is abſent whileſt he is preſent; eſpecially if employed in love-buſineſſes to advance a marriage. Ladyes will diſlike the body for a deformed ſhadow. The jeſt is well known: When the State of Rome ſent * two Embaſſadours, the one having ſcarres on his head, the other lame in his feet, *Mittit populus Romanus legationem quæ nec caput habet, nec pedes,* The people of Rome ſend an Embaſſy without head or feet.

* Some ſay they ſent three, and one of them a fool, and that Cato ſhould ſay they ſent an Embaſſy without head, heart, or feet. See Plutarchs Lives.

3

He hath a competent eſtate whereby to maintain his port: for a great povertie is ever ſuſpected; and he that hath a breach in his eſtate, lies open to be aſſaulted with bribes. Wherefore his means ought at leaſt to be ſufficient, both to defray ſet and conſtant charges, as alſo to make ſallies and excurſions of expenſes on extraordinary occaſions, which we may call Supererogations of State. Otherwiſe if he be indigent and ſucceed a bountifull Predeceſſour, he will ſeem a fallow field after a plentifull crop.

He is a paſſable ſcholar, well travell'd in Countreys and Hiſtories; well ſtudied in the Pleas of the Crown, I mean not ſuch as are at home, betwixt his Sovereigne and his ſubjects, but abroad betwixt his and forrein Princes; to this end he is well skill'd in the Emperiall Laws. Common-Law it ſelf is out-lawed beyond the ſeas; which though a moſt true, is too ſhort a meaſure of right, and reacheth not forrein kingdomes. 4

He well underſtandeth the language of that countrey to which he is ſent; and yet he deſires rather to ſeem ignorant of it (if ſuch a ſimulation which ſtands neuter betwixt a Truth and a Lie be lawfull), and that for theſe reaſons: firſt, becauſe though he can ſpeak it never ſo exactly, his eloquence therein will be but ſtammering, compar'd to the ordinary talk of the Natives: ſecondly, hereby he ſhall in a manner ſtand inviſible, and view others; and as Joſephs deafneſſe heard all the dialogues betwixt his brethren, ſo his not owning to underſtand the language, ſhall expoſe their talk the more open unto him: thirdly, he ſhall have the more advantage to ſpeak, and negotiate in his own language; at the leaſt wiſe, if he cannot make them come over to him, he may meet them in the midway, in the Latine, a ſpeech common to all learned Nations. 5

He gets his Commiſsion and inſtructions well ratified and confirm'd before he ſets forth. Otherwiſe it is the worſt priſon to be commiſsion-bound. And ſeeing he muſt not jet out the leaſt penthouſe beyond his foundation, he had beſt well ſurvey the extent of his authority. 6

He furniſheth himſelf with fit Officers in his family. Eſpecially he is carefull in chooſing 7

1. A Secretary, honeſt and able, carefull to conceal counſels, and not ſuch a one as will let drop out of his mouth, whatſoever is poured in at his eare: Yea the head of every Embaſſadour ſleeps on the breaſt of his Secretarie.
2. A Steward, wiſe and provident, ſuch as can temper magnificence with moderation, judiciouſly faſhioning his

his ordinary expences with his Maſters eſtate, reſerving a ſpare for all events and accidentall occaſions, and making all things to paſſe with decency, without any rudeneſſe, noiſe, or diſorder.

8 *He ſeaſonably preſents his Embaſſage, and demands audience.* Such is the freſh nature of ſome Embaſſages, if not ſpent preſently, they ſent ill. Thus it is ridiculous to condole griefs almoſt forgotten, for (beſides that with a cruell courteſie it makes their ſorrows bleed afreſh) it fooliſhly ſeems to teach one to take that, which he hath formerly digeſted. When ſome Trojane Embaſſadours came to comfort Tiberius Ceſar for the loſſe of his ſonne, dead well nigh a twelvemoneth before; *And I* (ſaid the Emperour) *am very ſorry for your griefe for the death of your Hector, ſlain by Achilles a thouſand years ſince.*

Suetonius in Tiberio.

9 *Coming to have audience, he applyeth himſelf onely to the Prince to whom he is ſent.* When Chancellour Morvill, Embaſſadour from the French King, delivering his meſſage to Philip Duke of Burgundy was interrupted by Charles the Dukes * ſonne, *I am ſent* (ſaid he) *not to treat with you, but with your father.* And our Mr Wade is highly commended, that being ſent by Queen Elizabeth to Philip King of Spain, he would not be turned * over to the Spaniſh Privy Counſel (whoſe greateſt Grandees were dwarfs in honour to his Queen) but would either have audience from the King himſelf, or would return without it. And yet afterwards our Embaſſadour knows (if deſirous that his buſineſſe ſhould take effect) how, and when to make his ſecret and underhand addreſſes to ſuch potent Favourites, as ſtrike the ſtroke in State; it often hapning in Common-wealths, that the Maſters mate ſteers the ſhip thereof, more then the Maſter himſelf.

* *Comin. lib. 1.*

* *Cambd. Eliz. in Anno 1584. pag. 380.*

10 *In delivering his meſſage, he complies with the garb and guiſe of the countrey*; either longer, briefer, more plain, or more flouriſhing, as it is moſt acceptable to ſuch, to whom he directs his ſpeech. The Italians (whoſe countrey is called *the countrey of good words*) love the circuits of courteſie, that an

Embaſſadour

Embaſſadour ſhould not, as a ſparrow-hawk, flie outright to his prey, and meddle preſently with the matter in hand; but with the noble falcon mount in language, ſoar high, fetch compaſſes of complement, and then in due time ſtoop to game, and ſeiſe on the buſineſſe propounded. Clean contrary the Switzers (who ſent word to the King of France, not to ſend them an Embaſſadour with ſtore of words, but a Treaſurer with plenty of money) count all words quite out, which are not ſtraight on, have an antipathy againſt eloquent language; the flowers of Rhetorick being as offenſive to them, as ſweet perfumes to ſuch as are troubled with the Mother. Yea generally great ſouldiers have their ſtomachs ſharp ſet to feed on the matter, lothing long ſpeeches, as wherein they conceive themſelves to loſe time, in which they could conquer half a countrey; and, counting bluntneſſe their beſt eloquence, love to be accoſted in their own kind.

He commands himſelf not to admire any thing preſented unto him. He looks, but not gazeth, on forrein magnificence (as countrey clowns on a city) beholding them with a familiar eye, as challenging old acquaintance, having known them long before. If he be ſurpriſed with a ſudden wonder, he ſo orders it, that though his ſoul within feels an admiration, none can perceive it without in his countenance. For, 11

1 It is inconſiſtent with the ſteddineſſe of his gravitie, to be ſtartled with a wonder.

2 Admiration is the daughter of ignorance: whereas he ought to be ſo read in the world, as to be poſed with no raritie.

3 It is a tacit confeſsion(if he wonders at State, Strength, or Wealth) that herein his own Maſters kingdome is farre ſurpaſſ'd. And yet he will not ſlight and neglect ſuch worthy ſights as he beholds, which would ſavour too much of ſullenneſſe, and ſelf-addiction, things ill beſeeming his noble ſpirit.

He is zealous of the leaſt puntillo's of his Maſters honour. Herein 12

'tis

'tis moſt true, the Law of honour *ſervanda in apicibus* : Yea, a toy may be reall, and a point may be eſſentiall to the ſenſe of ſome ſentences, and worſe to be ſpared then ſome whole letter. Great Kings wreſtle together by the ſtrength, and nimbleneſſe of their Embaſſadours; wherefore Embaſſadours are carefull to afford no advantage to the adverſe party : and mutually no more hold is given, then what is gotten, leſt the fault of the Embaſſadour be drawn into preſident, to the prejudice of his Maſter. He that abroad will loſe an hair of his Kings honour, deſerves to loſe his own head when he comes home.

16 *He appears not violent in deſiring any thing he would effect*; but with a ſeeming careleſneſſe moſt carefully advanceth his Maſters buſineſſe. If employed to conclude a Peace, he repreſents his Maſter as indifferent therein for his own part, but that deſiring to ſpare Chriſtian bloud, preponderates him for Peace, whoſe conſcience, not purſe or arms are weary of the warre : He entreats not, but treats for an accord, for their mutuall good. But if the Embaſſadour declareth himſelf zealous for it, perchance he may be forced to buy thoſe conditions, which otherwiſe would be given him.

14 *He is conſtantly and certainly inform'd of all paſſages in his own Countrey.* What a ſhame is it for him to be a ſtranger to his native affairs? Beſides, if gulls and rumours from his Countrey be raiſed on purpoſe to amuſe our Embaſſadour, he rather ſmiles then ſtarts at theſe falſe vizards, who by private inſtructions from home, knows the true face of his Countrey-eſtate. And leſt his Maſters Secretary ſhould fail him herein, he counts it thrift to caſt away ſome pounds yearly, to ſome private friend in the Court, to ſend him true information of all home-remarkables.

15 *He carefully returns good intelligence to his Maſter that employeth him.*

1 Speedy: Not being ſuch a ſluggard as to write for news at noon, That the Sunne is riſen.

2 True; ſo farre forth as may be : elſe he ſtamps it with a mark of uncertainty or ſuſpicion.

3 Full :

3 Full: not filling the paper, but informing thoſe to whom it is written.

4 Materiall: not grinding his adviſes too ſmall, to frivolous particulars of love-toyes, and private brawls, as * one layeth it to the charge of Francis Guicciardines Hiſtorie, *Minutiſsima quæque narrat, parum ex lege aut dignitate Hiſtoriæ.* And yet ſuch particulars, which are too mean to be ſerved up to the Counſel-Table, may make a feaſt for Ladies, or other his friends; and therefore to ſuch our Embaſſadour relates them by his private letters.

* *Lipſius in the end of his Politicks, in his cenſure of Hiſtorians.*

5 Methodicall: not running on all in a continued ſtrain, but ſtopping at the ſtages of different buſineſſes to breath himſelf and the Reader, and to take and begin a new ſentence.

6 Well-penned, clear and plain, not hunting after language, but teaching words their diſtance to wait on his matter, intermingling ſententious ſpeeches ſparingly, leſt ſeeming affected. And if conſtrained twice to write the ſame matter, ſtill he varieth his words, leſt he may ſeem to write like Notaries by preſidents.

16 *He will not have his houſe ſerve as a retreating-place for people ſuſpected and odious,* in that State wherein he is employed. Much leſſe ſhall his houſe be a Sanctuary for Offenders, ſeeing the very horns of Gods Altar did puſh away from them ſuch notorious Malefactours as did flie unto them for protection.

17 *He is cautious not to practice any treacherous act againſt the Prince under whom he lives:* leſt the Shield of his Embaſſy prove too ſmall to defend him from the Sword of Juſtice, ſeeing that for ſuch an offenſe an Embaſſadour is reſolved into a private man, and may worthily be puniſhed, as in the caſes of Bernardinus Mendoza, and the Biſhop of * Roſſe. Yea he will not ſo much as break forth publickly into any diſcourſe, which he knows will be diſtaſtfull in that Countrey wherein he is employed. Learned Bodin, who ſome ſeventy years ſince waited on Monſieur into England, was here,

* *See his caſe largely diſcuſſ. in Camd. Elizab. by the beſt Civilians Anno 1571.*

* *Franciſc. Hottoman in his Treatiſe of an Embaſſ. fol. 42.*

though highly admired for his learning, condemned much for his indiſcretion, if his * corrivals pen may be credited. For being feaſted at an Engliſh Lords table, he fell into the odious diſcourſe, That a Princeſſe, meaning Mary Queen of Scots, was after Queen Elizabeth the preſumptive Inheritrix of the Engliſh Crown, notwithſtanding an Engliſh Law ſeemed to exclude thoſe which are born out of the land; *And yet*, ſaid he, *I know not where this Law is, for all the diligence that I have uſed to find it out*: To whom it was ſuddenly replyed by the Lord that entertain'd him, *You ſhall find it written on the backſide of your Salick Law*: a judicious and biting rebound.

18 *He is carefull of ſuſpicious complying with that Prince to whom he is ſent*: as to receive from him any extraordinary gifts, much leſſe penſions, which carry with them more then an appearance of evil. S^r * Amias Paulet was ſo ſcrupulous herein, that being Embaſſadour in France in the dayes of Queen Elizabeth, he would not at his departure receive from the French King the chain of gold (which is given of courſe) till he was half a league out of the city of Paris.

*Idem. fol. 23, 24.

19 *If he hath any* libera mandata, *unlimited inſtructions, herein his diſcretion is moſt admirable.*

But what go I about to do? hereof enough already, if not too much: it better complying with my profeſsion to practice S. Pauls precept to mine own pariſhioners, * *Now then we are Embaſſadours for Chriſt, as though God did beſeech you by us, we pray you in Chriſts ſtead, be reconciled to God.*

* 2. Cor. 5. 20.

Chap. 17.

The good Generall.

THe Souldier, whom we formerly deſcribed, hath ſince by the ſtairs of his own deſerts climb'd up to be a Generall, and now we come to character him.

Maxime 1 *He is pious in the ordering of his own life.* Some falſely conceive

ceive that Religion ſpoyleth the ſpirit of a Generall, as bad as a rainy day doth his plume of feathers, making it droop, and hang down; whereas indeed Piety onely begets true Proweſſe.

He acknowledgeth God the Generaliſsimo of all armies; who in all battels, though the number be never ſo unequall, reſerves the caſting voice for himſelf. Yet can I ſcarce believe what * one tells us, how Walter Pletemberg, Maſter of the Teutonick order, with a ſmall number ſlew in a battel an hundred thouſand Muſcovite enemies, with the loſſe of but one man on his ſide. 2

*Tilman Bredenbach. de bello Livon. & Fitz Herbert of Policy and Religion, part 1. cap. 14.

He hath gained skill in his place by long experience: not beginning to lead others, before himſelf ever knew to follow, having never before (except in Cockmatches) beheld any battels. Surely they leap beſt in their providence forward, who fetch their riſe fartheſt backward in their experience. 3

He either is, or is preſumed valiant. Indeed courage in him is neceſſary, though ſome think that a Generall is above valour, who may command others to be ſo. As if it were all one whether courage were his naturally, or by adoption, who can make the valiant deeds of others ſeem his own; and his reputation for perſonall manhood once raiſ'd, will bear it ſelf up; like a round body, ſome force is required to ſet it, but a touch will keep it agoing. Indeed it is extreme indiſcretion (except in extremities) for him to be prodigall of his perſon. 4

He is cheerfull and willing in undergoing of labour. Admirable are the miracles of an induſtrious armie, witneſſe the mighty ditch in Cambridge-ſhire made by the Eaſt-Angles, commonly call'd *Devils-ditch*, as if the Pioners thereof came from hell. Thus the effeminateneſſe of our age, defaming what it ſhould imitate, falſely traduces the monuments of their Anceſtours endeavours. 5

He loves, and is beloved of his ſouldiers. Whoſe good will he attaineth, 6

1 By giving them good words in his ſpeeches unto them.

When wages have ſometimes accidentally fallen ſhort, ſouldiers have accepted the payment in the fair language and promiſes of their Generall.

2 By partaking with his ſouldiers in their painfull employments. When the Engliſh, at the Spaniſh Fleets approch in eightie eight, drew their ſhips out of Plimouth haven, the Lord Admirall Howard himſelf * towed a cable, the leaſt joynt of whoſe exemplarie hand, drew more then twenty men beſides.

* *Camden. Elizab. Anno 1588.*

3 By ſharing with them in their wants. When victuals have grown ſcant, ſome Generalls have pinched themſelves to the ſame fare with their ſouldiers, who could not complain that their meſſe was bad, whileſt their Generall was Fellow commoner with them.

4 By taking notice, and rewarding of their deſerts; never disinheriting a worthy ſouldier of his birthright, of the next Office due unto him. For a worthy man is wounded more deeply by his own Generalls neglect, then by his enemies ſword: The latter may kill him, but the former deads his courage, or, which is worſe, mads it into diſcontent; who had rather others ſhould make a ladder of his dead corps to ſcale a city by it, then a bridge of him whileſt alive for his punies to give him the *Goe-by*, and paſſe over him to preferment. For this reaſon chiefly (beſide ſome others) a great and valiant Engliſh Generall in the daies of Queen Elizabeth was hated of his ſouldiers, becauſe he diſpoſed Officers by his own abſolute will, without reſpect of orderly advancing ſuch as deſerved it, which made a Great man once ſalute him with this letter: *Sr, If you will be pleaſed to beſtow a Captains place on the bearer hereof, being a worthy Gentleman, he ſhall do that for you which never as yet any ſouldier did, namely pray to God for your health and happineſſe.*

7 *He is fortunate in what he undertakes.* Such a one was Julius Ceſar, who in * Britain, a country undiſcovered, peopled with

* *Ceſar. Comment. lib. 4.*

with a valiant Nation, began a warre in Autumne, without apparent advantage, not having any intelligence there, being to paſſe over the ſea into a colder climate (an enterpriſe, ſaith * one, well worthy the invincible courage of Ceſar, but not of his accuſtomed prudence), and yet returned victorious. Indeed God is the ſole diſpoſer of ſucceſſe: Other gifts he alſo ſcattereth amongſt men, yet ſo that they themſelves ſcramble to gather them up; whereas ſucceſſe, God gives immediately into their hands, on whom he pleaſeth to beſtow it.

*The Duke of Rohan in the complete Captain, pag. 19.

8 *He tryeth the forces of a new enemie before he encounters him.* Sampſon is half conquered, when it is known where his ſtrength lies; and skirmiſhes are ſcouts for the diſcovery of the ſtrength of an army, before battel be given.

9 *He makes his flying enemie a bridge of gold*, and diſarms them of their beſt weapon, which is, neceſsity to fight whether they will or no. Men forced to a battel againſt their intention often conquer beyond their expectation: ſtop a flying coward, and he will turn his legs into arms, and lay about him manfully; whereas open him a paſſage to eſcape, and he will quickly ſhut up his courage.

But I dare dwell no longer on this ſubject. When the Pope earneſtly wrote to King Richard the firſt, not to detain in priſon *his dear ſonne*, the Martiall Biſhop of Beavois, the King ſent the Pope back the armour wherein the Biſhop was taken, with the words of Jacobs ſonnes to their Father, *See whether or no this be the coat of thy ſonne*. Surely a corſlet is no canonicall coat for me, not ſuits it with my Clergy profeſsion to proceed any further in this warlike deſcription; onely we come to give an example thereof.

GUSTAVUS Adolphus *the pious and Valiant King of* Sweden. *He was slaine in the Battell at* Lutzen, *the 16 of November 1632. Aged 38 yeares.*
W. M. sculp:

Chap. 18.

The life of Gustavus Adolphus.

King of Sweden.

Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, born *Anno Domini* 1594 had princely education both for Arts and Armes. In Italie he learnt the Mathematicks, and in other places abroad, the French, Italian, and Germane tongues, and after he was King, he travelled under the name of Mr * G. A.R.S. being the foure initiall letters of his name, and title.

* *Gustavus Adolph. Rex Suecorum, Dr: Wats in charact. ad finem 3. part. p.* 183.

He

He was but ſeventeen years old at his Fathers death, being left not onely a young King, but alſo in a young kingdome; for his title to the Crown of Sweden, was but five years old, to wit ſince the beginning of his Fathers reigne. All his bordering Princes (on the North nothing but the North bounded on him) were his enemies; the Duke-Emperour of Muſcovy on the Eaſt, the King of Denmark on the Weſt, and of Poland on the South: The former two laid claim to parcels, the latter, to all his kingdome. Yet was he too great for them in his minority, both defending his own, and gaining on them. *Woe be to the kingdome whoſe King is a child*, yet bleſſed is that kingdome whoſe King, though a child in age, is a man in worth.

Theſe his firſt actions had much of glory, and yet ſomewhat of poſsibility and credit in them. But Chronicle and belief muſt ſtrain hard to make his Germane Conqueſt probable with poſterity; coming in with eleven thouſand men, having no certain confederates, but ſome of his alliance, whom the Emperour had outed of all their eſtates: And yet in two years and foure moneths, he left the Emperour in as bad a caſe almoſt, as he found thoſe Princes in.

Gods Providence herein is chiefly to be admired, who to open him a free entrance into Germany, diverted the Imperiall and Spaniſh forces into Italy, there to ſcramble againſt the French, for the Dukedome of Mantua. For heaven onely knows how much Proteſtant fleſh the Imperialiſts had devoured, if that bone had not ſtruck in their teeth.

If we look on ſecond cauſes, we may aſcribe his victories to this Kings piety, wiſedome, valour, and other virtues. His piety to God was exemplary, being more addicted to prayer then to fight, as if he would rather conquer Heaven then Earth. He was himſelf exceeding temperate, ſave onely too much given to anger, but afterwards he would correct himſelf, and be cholerick with his choler, ſhewing himſelf a man in the one, and a Saint in the other.

He was a ſtrict obſerver of Martiall diſcipline, the life of Warre, without which an Army is but a crowd (not to ſay herd) of people. He would march all day in complete armour, which was by cuſtome no more burthen to him then his armes; and to carry his helmet, no more trouble then his head; whileſt his example made the ſame eaſie to all his ſouldiers. He was a ſtrict puniſher of miſdemeanours and wanton intemperance in his camp: And yet let me relate this ſtory from one preſent therein.

When firſt he entred Germany, he perceived how that many women followed his ſouldiers, ſome being their wives, and ſome wanting nothing to make them ſo but marriage; yet moſt paſsing for their landreſſes, though commonly defiling more then they waſh. The King coming to a great river, after his men and the wagons were paſſed over, cauſed the bridge to be broken down, hoping ſo to be rid of theſe feminine impediments; but they one a ſudden lift up a panick ſchrick, which pierced the skies, and the ſouldiers hearts on the other ſide of the river, who inſtantly vowed not to ſtirre a foot farther, except with baggage, and that the women might be fetch'd over, which was done accordingly. For the King finding this ill hnmour ſo generally diſperſ'd in his men, that it was dangerous to purge it all at once, ſmiled out his anger for the preſent, and permitted what he could not amend: yet this abuſe was afteswards reformed by degrees.

He was very mercifull to any that would ſubmit. And as the iron gate miraculouſly opened to S. Peter of its own accord, ſo his mercy wrought miracles, making many city-gates open to him of themſelves, before he ever knock'd at them to demand entrance; the inhabitants deſiring to ſhroud themſelves under his protection. Yea he was merciſull to thoſe places which he took by aſſault, ever deteſting the bloudineſſe of Tilly at Magdenburg, under the aſhes whereof he buried his honour, coming valiant thither, and departing cruell thence. In ſuch caſes he was mercifull to women (not like thoſe Generalls, who know the differences

of

of Sex in their luſt, but not in their anger) yea the very Jeſuites themſelves taſted of his courteſie, though merrily he laid to their charge, that they would neither *Preach faith* to, nor *keep faith* with others.

He had the true art (almoſt loſt) of Encamping, where he would lie in his Trenches in deſpight of all enemies, keeping the clock of his own time, and would fight for no mans pleaſure but his own. No ſeeming flight or diſorder of his enemies, ſhould couſen him into a battel, nor their daring bravado's anger him into it, nor any violence force him to flight, till he thought fitting himſelf; counting it good manners in Warre to take all, but give no advantages.

It was ſaid of his Armies, that they uſed to riſe when the ſwallows went to bed, when winter began, his forces moſt conſiſting of Northern Nations, and *a Swede fights beſt when he can ſee his own breath.* He alwayes kept a long vacation in the dog-dayes, being onely a ſaver in the ſummer, and a gainer all the yeare beſides. His beſt harveſt was in the ſnow; and his ſouldiers had moſt life in the dead of winter.

He made but a ſhort cut in taking of cities, many of whoſe fortifications were a wonder to behold; but what were they then to aſſault and conquer? at ſcaling of walls he was excellent for contriving, as his ſouldiers in executing: it ſeeming a wonder that their bodies ſhould be made of aire, ſo light to climbe, whoſe armes were of iron, ſo heavy to ſtrike. Such cities as would not preſently open unto him, he ſhut them up, and having buſineſſe of more importance, then to impriſon himſelf about one ſtrength, he would conſigne the beſieging thereof to ſome other Captain. And indeed he wanted not his Joabs, who when they had reduced cities to terms of yielding, knew (with as much wiſdome as loyalty) to entitle their David to the whole honour of the action.

He was highly beloved of his ſouldiers, of whoſe deſerts he kept a faithfull Chronicle in his heart, and advanced them accordingly. All valiant men were Swedes to him; and

and he differenced men in his esteem, by their merits not their countrey.

To come to his death, wherein his reputation suffers in the judgements of some, for too much hazarding of his own person in the battel. But surely some conceived necessity thereof urged him thereunto. For this his third grand set battel in Germany, was the third and last asking of his banes to the Imperiall Crown; and had they not been forbidden by his death, his marriage in all probability had instantly followed. Besides, * *Never Prince hath founded great Empire, but my making warre in person; nor hath lost any, but when he made warre by his lieutenants* : which made this King the more adventurous.

* *Duke of Rohan, in his complete Captain cap. 22.*

His death is still left in uncertainty, whether the valour of open enemies, or treachery of false friends caused it. His side *won the day*, and yet *lost the sunne* that made it; and as one saith,

Upon this place the great Gustavus dy'd,
Whilest victory lay bleeding by his side.

Thus the readiest way to lose a jewel, is to overprise it: for indeed many men so doted on this worthy Prince, and his victories (without any default of his, who gave God the glory) that his death in some sort seemed necessary to vindicate Gods honour, who usually maketh that prop of flesh to break, whereon men lay too great weight of their expectation.

After his death, how did men struggle to keep him alive in their reports? partly out of good will, which made them kindle new hopes of his life at every spark of probability; partly out of infidelity that his death could be true. First they thought so valiant a Prince could not live on earth; and when they saw his life, then they thought so valiant a Prince could never die, but that his death was rather a concealment for a time, dayly expecting when the politickly dead should have a Resurrection in some noble exploit.

* *Dr. Hakewill in his Apologie for divine Providence, lib. 4. cap. 11. pag. 546.*

I find a most * learned pen applying these Latine verses

to

to this noble Prince, and it is honour enough for us to translate them :

In Templo plus quam Sacerdos.
In Republica plus quam Rex.
In ſententia dicenda plus quam Senator.
In Judicio plus quam Juriſconſultus.
In Exercitu plus quam Imperator.
In Acie plus quam Miles.
In adverſis perferendis, injuriiſque condonandis plus quam vir.
In publica libertate tuenda plus quam Civis.
In Amicitia colenda plus quam Amicus.
In convictu plus quam familiaris.
In venatione feriſque domandis plus quam Leo.
In tota reliqua vita plus quam Philoſophus.

More then a Prieſt he in the Church might paſſe.
More then a Prince in Common-wealth he was.
More then a Counſeller in points of State.
More then a Lawyer matters to debate.
More then a Generall to command outright.
More then a Souldier to perform a fight.
More then a man to bear affliction ſtrong.
More then a man good to forgive a wrong.
More then a Patriot countrey to defend.
True friendſhip to maintain, more then a Friend.
More then familiar ſweetly to converſe.
And though in ſports more then a Lion fierce,
To hunt and kill the game ; yet he expreſt
More then Philoſopher in all the reſt.

The Jeſuites made him to be the * Antichriſt, and allowed him three years and an half of reigne and conqueſt: But had he lived that full term out, the true Antichriſt might have heard further from him, and Romes Tragedy might have had an end, whoſe fifth and laſt Act is ſtill behind. Yet one * Jeſuite more ingenuous then the reſt, gives him this teſtimony, that, *ſave the badneſſe of his cauſe and religion, he had nothing defective in him which belonged to an excellent King, and a good Captain.*

* *Deſcript. Bell. Suecici, per Aut. Anonymum, pag. 186.*

* *Silveſter Petra Sancta in his book againſt Du Moulin.*

Thus

Thus let this our poore deſcription of this King, ſerve like a flat graveſtone or plain pavement for the preſent; till the richer pen of ſome Grotius or Heinſius, ſhall provide to erect ſome ſtatelyer Monument on his Memory.

Chap. 19.

The Prince or Heir apparent to the Crown.

HE is the beſt pawn of the future felicity of a kingdome. His Fathers Subjects conceive they take a further eſtate of happineſſe in the hopes of his Succeſsion.

Maxime 1 *In his infancy he gives preſages of his future worth.* firſt-fruits are diſpatch'd before, to bring news to the world of the harveſt of virtues which are ripening in him: hs own Royall ſpirit prompts him to ſome ſpeeches and actions, wherein the ſtanders by will ſcarce believe their own eares and eyes, that ſuch things can proceed from him: And yet no wonder if they have light the ſooneſt, who live neareſt the Eaſt, ſeeing Princes have the advantage of the beſt birth and breeding. The Gregorian account goes ten dayes before the computation of the Engliſh calendar: but the capacity of Princes, goes as many years before private mens of the ſame age.

Antevenit ſortem meritis, virtutibus, annos.
His worth above his wealth appears,
And virtues go beyond his years.

2 *He is neither kept too long from the knowledge, nor brought too ſoon to the acquaintance with his own Greatneſſe.* To be kept too long in diſtance from himſelf, would breed in him a ſoul too narrow for his place: On the other ſide, he need not to be taught his Greatneſſe too ſoon, who will meet with it every where. The beſt of all is, when his Governours open him to himſelf by degrees, that his ſoul may ſpread according to his age.

He

He playeth himſelf into Learning before he is aware of it. Herein much is to be aſcribed to the wiſdome of his Teachers, who alwayes preſent Learning unto him (as Angels are painted) ſmiling, and candy over his ſoureſt ſtudies with pleaſure and delight, obſerving ſeaſonable time, and fit method. Not like many countrey Schoolmaſters, who in their inſtructions ſpill more then they fill, by their overhaſty pouring of it in. 3

He ſympathizeth with him that by a Poxie is corrected for his offenſe: yea ſometimes goeth further, and (above his age) conſidereth, that it is but an Embleme, how hereafter his people may be puniſhed for his own fault. He hath read how the Iſraelites, the ſecond of Sam. 24. 17. were plagued for Davids numbring of them. And yet withall he remembreth how in the firſt verſe of the ſame chapter, *The wrath of the Lord was kindled againſt Iſrael, and he* (by permitting of Satan the inſtrument 1. Chron. 21. 1.) *moved David to number them.* And as the ſtomach and vitall parts of a man are often corroded with a rheume falling from the head, yet ſo that the diſaffection of the ſtomach firſt cauſed the breeding of the ſame offenſive diſtillation; ſo our young Prince takes notice of a reciprocation of faults and puniſhments betwixt King and Kingdome (both making up the ſame body,) yea that ſometimes the King is corrected for the peoples offenſes, that ſo *è contra*: Indeed in Relatives neither can be well, if both be not. 4

He is moſt carefull in reading, and attentive in hearing Gods word. King Edward the ſixth (who, though a Sovereigne, might ſtill in age paſſe for a Prince) accurately noted the dayes, Texts, and names of Miniſters, that preached before him. Next to Gods word, our Prince ſtudies *Baſilicon Doron*, that Royall gift, which onely King James was able to give, and onely King James his ſonne worthy to receive. 5

He is carefull in chuſing and uſing his recreation, refuſing ſuch which in their very poſture and ſituation are too low for a Prince. In all his exerciſes he affects comlineſſe, or rather a 6

kind of careleſneſſe in ſhew, to make his actívities ſeem the more naturall, and avoids a toyling and laborious induſtry, eſpecially ſeeing each drop of a Princes ſweat is a pearl, and not to be thrown away for no cauſe. And Princes are not to reach, but to trample on recreations, making them their footſtool to heighten their ſouls for ſeriouſneſſe, taking them in paſſage thereunto.

7 *His clothes are ſuch as may beſeem his Greatneſſe*: eſpecially when he ſolemnly appears, or preſents himſelf to forrein Embaſſadours. Yet he diſdains not to be plain at ordinary times. The late * Henrie, Prince of Wales, being tax'd by ſome for his too long wearing of a plain ſute of Welch frize; *Would* (ſaid he) *my countrey cloth will laſt forever.*

* *Sr. Fr. Nethersol. in the fun. orat. of him, pag.* 16.

8 *He begins to ſtudy his own countrey, and the people therein*: what places are, what may be fortified; which can withſtand a long ſiege, and which onely can make head againſt a preſent inſurrection. If his land accoſteth the ſea, he conſidereth what Havens therein are barr'd, whoſe dangerous chanells fence themſelves, and their rocks are their blockhouſes; what Keys are ruſty with ſands and ſhelves, and what are ſcoured with a free and open tide, with what ſerviceable ſhips belong thereunto. He takes notice alſo of the men in the land, and diſdains his ſoul ſhould be blurred with unjuſt prejudices, but fairly therein writes every one in order, as they are ranked by their own deſerts.

9 *Hence he looks abroad to ſee how his countrey ſtands in relation to forrein Kingdomes*; how it is friended with Confederates, how oppoſ'd with Enemies. His little eyes can caſt a ſoure glance on the ſuſpicious greatneſſe of any near borderer; for he conceives others weakned by their own diſtance. He conſiders forrein Kingdomes, and States, whether they ſtand on their own ſtrength, or lean on the favour of friends, or onely hang by a Politicall Geometry, equally poyſing themſelves betwixt their neighbours, like Lucca and Geneva, the multitude of enemies mouthes keeping them from being ſwallowed up. He quickly perceives that Kings, how nearly ſoever allied, are moſt of

kinne

kinne to their own intereſt; and though the ſame Religion be the beſt bond of forrein affection, yet even this breaks too often: and States when wounded, will cure themſelves with a plaiſter made of the heart-blood of their beſt friends.

10 *He tunes his ſoul in comfort to the diſpoſition of his King father.* Whatſoever his deſire be, the leaſt word, countenance, or ſigne given of his fathers diſallowance, makes him inſtantly deſiſt from further purſuit thereof with ſatisfaction, in regard he underſtands it diſagreeing to his Majeſties pleaſure, and with a reſolution not to have the leaſt ſemblance of being diſcontented: He hath read how ſuch Princes which were undutifull to their Parents, either had no children, or children worſe then none, which repai'd their diſobedience. He is alſo kind to his Brothers, and Siſters, whoſe love and affection he counteth the bulwarks and redouts, for his own ſafety and ſecurity.

11 *When grown to keep a Court by himſelf, he is carefull in well ordering it.* The foreſaid Prince Henries Court, conſiſted of few leſſe then five hundred perſons, and yet his grave and Princely aſpect gave temper to them all, ſo that in ſo numerous a familie, not ſo much as any *blows were given.

* *Sr. William Cornwallis in the life of Prince Henry.*

12 *With a frowning countenance he bruſheth off from his ſoul all Court-mothes of flattery*: eſpecially he is deaf to ſuch as would adviſe him, without any, or any juſt grounds, when he comes to the Crown, to runne counter to the practice of his Father; and who knowing that muddy water makes the ſtrongeſt beere, may conceive the troubling and embroyling of the State, will be moſt advantagions for their active ſpirits. Indeed ſeldome two ſucceſsive Kings tread in the ſame path: if the former be Martiall, though the warre be juſt, honourable, and profitable; yet ſome will quarrell with the time preſent, not becauſe *it is bad*, but becauſe *it is*, and put a Prince forward to an alteration. If the former King were peaceable, yet happineſſe it ſelf is unhappy

'Αεὶ τὸ παρὸν βαρύ.

in being too common, and many will desire warre (conceited sweet to every palate which never tasted it) and urge a Prince thereunto. But our Prince knows to estimate things by their true worth and value, and will not take them upon the credit, whereon others present them unto him.

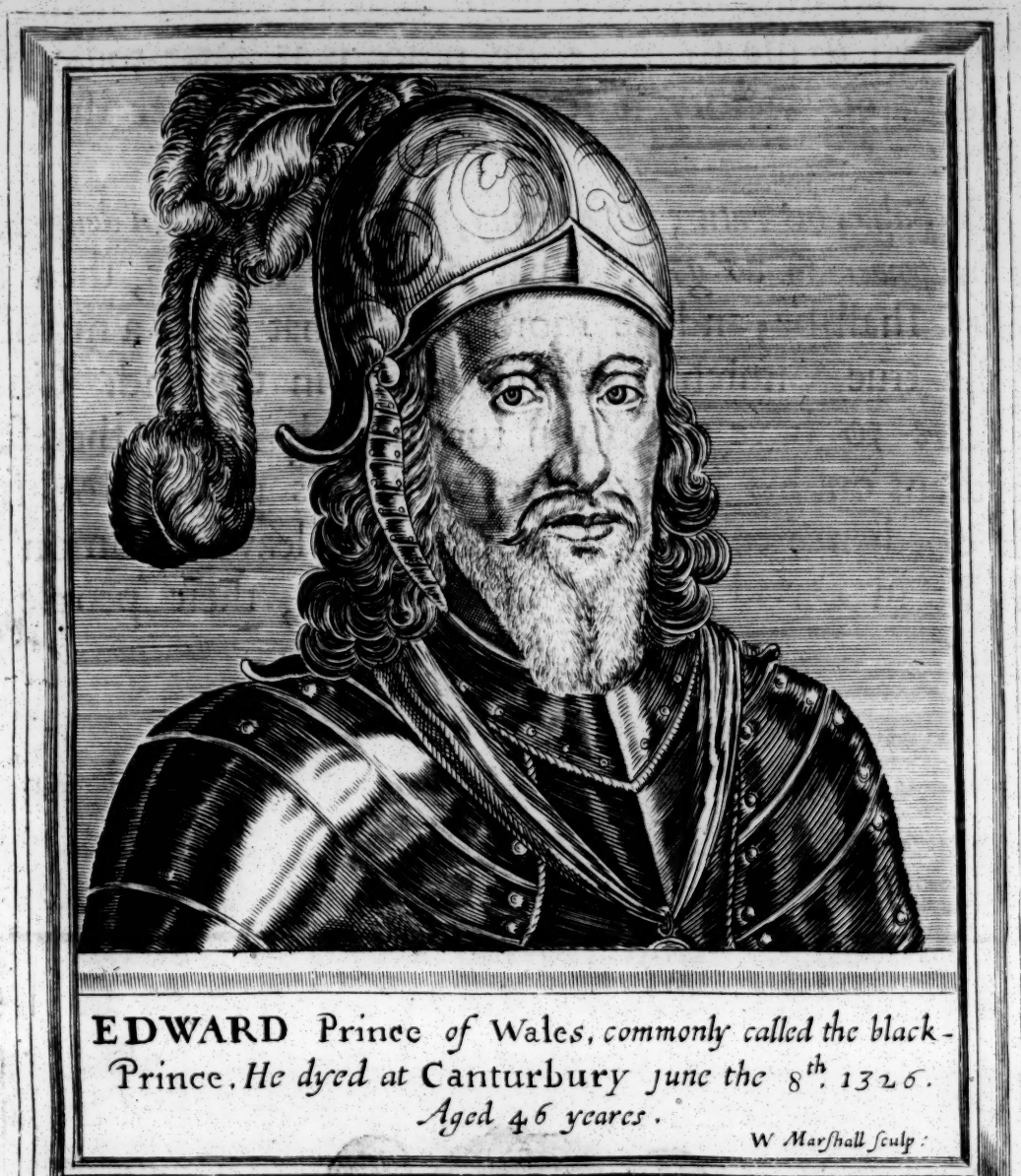
13 *He conceives they will be most loving to the branch, which were most loyall to the root,* and most honour'd his father. We reade how Henrie the fifth (as yet Prince of Wales) intending to bear out one of his servants for a misdemeanour, reviled Sr William Gascoine, Lord chief Justice of the Kings Bench, to his face in open Court. The aged Judge considered how this his action would beget an immortall example, and the eccho of his words (if unpunished) would be resounded for ever to the disgrace of Majestie, which is never more on its throne, then when either in person, or in his substitutes, sitting on the bench of Justice; and thereupon commanded the Prince to the prison, till he had given satisfaction to his father for the affront offered. Instantly down fell the heart of great Prince Henrie, which (though as hard as rock) the breath of Justice did easily shake, being first undermin'd with an apprehension of his own guiltinesse: And King Henrie the fourth his father is reported greatly to rejoyce, that he had a Judge who knew how to command by, and a Sonne who knew how to submit to his Laws. And afterward this Prince when King (first conquering himself, and afterwards the French) reduced his Court from being a forrest of wild trees, to be an orchard of sweet fruit, banishing away his bad companions, and appointing and countenancing those to keep the key of his honour, who had lock'd up his fathers most faithfully.

14 *He shews himself to the people on fit occasions.* It is hard to say whether he sees or is seen with more love and delight. Every one that brings an eye to gaze on him, brings also an heart to pray for him. But his subjects

in

in reverſion, moſt rejoyce to ſee him in his military exerciſes, wiſhing him as much skill to know them, as little need to uſe them, ſeeing peace is as farre to be preferred before victory it ſelf, as the end is better then the means.

He values his future ſovereignty, not by impunity in doing evil, but by power to do good. What now his deſire is, then his ability ſhall be; and he more joyes, that he is a member of the true Church, then the ſecond in the land. Onely he fears to have a Crown too quickly, and therefore lengthens out his fathers dayes with his prayers for him, and obedience to him. And thus we leave Solomon to delight in David, David in Solomon, their people in both. 15



EDWARD Prince *of* Wales, *commonly called the black-Prince. He dyed at* Canturbury *June the* 8th. 1326. *Aged* 46 *yeares.*

W Marſhall ſculp:

CHAP. 20.

The life of EDWARD *the Black Prince.*

EDward the Black Prince (ſo called from his dreaded acts, and not from his * complexion) was the eldeſt ſonne to Edward the third by Philippa his Queen. He was born *Anno* 1329, on the fifteenth of June, being friday, at Woodſtock in Oxfordſhire. His Parents perceiving in him more then ordinary naturall perfections, were carefull to beſtow on him ſuch education in Piety, and Learning, agreeable to his high birth. The Prince met their care with his

* For King Edward his father called him his Fair Sonne, Speed pag. 579.

his towardlineſſe, being apt to take fire, and blaze at the leaſt ſpark of inſtruction put into him.

We find him to be the firſt Prince of Wales, whoſe * Charter at this day is extant, with the particular rites of inveſtiture, which were the Crownet, and Ring of gold, with rod of ſilver, worthily beſtowed upon him, who may paſſe for a miroir of Princes, whether we behold him in Peace or in Warre. He in the whole courſe of his life, manifeſted a ſingular obſervance to his Parents, to comply with their will and deſire; nor leſſe was the tenderneſſe of his affection to his Brothers and Siſters, whereof he had many.

* *See the copy thereof in Mr. Seldens titles of Honour, pag. 595.*

But as for the Martiall performances of this Prince, they are ſo many and ſo great, that they would fill whole volumes: we will onely inſiſt on three of his moſt memorable atchievements, remitting the Reader for the reſt to our Engliſh Hiſtorians. The firſt ſhall be his behaivour in the battel of * Creſſy, againſt the French, wherein Prince Edward, not fully eighteen years old, led the fore-front of the Engliſh.

* 1346 *in the twenty yeare of Edward the third.*

There was a cauſleſſe report (the beginning of a rumour is ſometimes all the ground thereof) ſpread through the French army, that the Engliſh were fled: whereupon the French poſted after them, not ſo much to overcome (this they counted done,) but to overtake them, preparing themſelves rather to purſue, then to fight. But coming to the town of Creſſy, they found the Engliſh fortified in a woody place, and attending in good array to give battel. Whereat the French falling from their hopes, were extremely vext, (a fools paradiſe is a wiſemans hell) finding their enemies faces to ſtand where they look'd for their backs. And now both armies prepared to fight; whileſt behold flocks of ravens and vulturs in the aire flew thither; bold gueſts to come without an invitation: But theſe ſmell-feaſt birds, when they ſaw the cloth laid (the tents of two armies pitch'd) knew there would be good cheere, and came to feed on their carcaſes.

The Engliſh divided themſelves into three parts: The formoſt

formoſt conſiſting moſt of Archers, led by the Black Prince; the ſecond, by the Earl of Northampton; the third, commanded by King Edward in perſon. The French were treble in number to the Engliſh, and had in their army the three Kings, of France, Bohemia, and Majorca: Charles Duke of Alenſon, with John the Bohemian King, led the vanguard; the French King Philip, the main battel; whileſt Amie Duke of Savoy brought up the rere.

The Genoan Archers in the French forefront, wearied with marching, were accuſ'd for their ſlothfulneſſe, and could neither get their wages, nor good words, which made many of them caſt down their bows, and refuſe to fight; the reſt had their bowſtrings made uſeleſſe, being wetted with a ſudden ſhowre which fell on their ſide: But Heavens ſmiling offended more then her weeping, the ſunne ſuddenly ſhining out in the face of the French, gave them ſo much light that they could not ſee.

However Duke Charles, breaking through the Genoans, furiouſly charged the fronts of the Engliſh, and joyned at hand-ſtrokes with the Princes battel, who though fighting moſt couragiouſly was in great danger: Therefore King Edward was ſent unto (who hitherto hovered on a hillock, judiciouſly beholding the fight) to come and reſcue his ſonne. The King apprehending his caſe dangerous, but not deſperate, and him rather in need then extremity, told the meſſenger, *Is my ſonne alive? let him die or conquer, that he may have the honour of the day.*

The Engliſh were vext, not at his deniall, but their own requeſt; that they ſhould ſeem to ſuſpect their Kings fatherly affection, or Martiall skill, as needing a remembrancer to tell him his time. To make amends, they laid about them manfully, the rather becauſe they knew that the King looked on, to teſtifie their valour, who alſo had the beſt cards in his own hand, though he kept them for a revie.

The victory began to incline to the Engliſh, when, rather to ſettle then get the conqueſt, the King (hitherto a ſpectatour)

ſpectatour) came in to act an Epilogue. Many Engliſh with ſhort knifes for the nonce, ſtabb'd the bellies of their enemies, cut the throats of more, letting out their ſouls whereſoever they could come at their bodies : and to all ſuch as lay languiſhing, they gave a ſhort acquittance, that they had paid their debt to nature. This makes French Writers complain of the Engliſh cruelty, and that it had been more honour to the Generall, and profit to the ſouldiers, to have drawn leſſe bloud, and more money, in ranſoming captives, eſpecially ſeeing many French Noblemen, who fought like lions, were kill'd like calves. Others plead, that in Warre all wayes and weapons are lawfull, where it is the greateſt miſtake not to take all advantages.

Night came on, and the King commanded no purſuit ſhould be made for preventing of confuſion ; for ſouldiers ſcarce follow any order, when they follow their flying enemy ; and it was ſo late, that it might have proved too ſoon to make a purſuit.

The night proved exceeding dark (as mourning for the bloud ſhed) nor was the next morning comforted with the riſing of the ſun, but remained ſad and gloomy, ſo that in the miſt many French men loſt their way, and then their lives, falling into the hands of the Engliſh : ſo that next dayes gleanings for the number, though not for the quality of perſons ſlain, exceeded the harveſt of the day before. And thus this victory, next to Gods Providence, was juſtly aſcribed to the Black Princes valour, who there wonne and wore away the Eſtridge feathers, then the Arms of John King of Bohemia, there conquer'd and kill'd, and therefore ſince made the * hereditary Emblemes of honour to the Princes of Wales.

* *Vid. Cambd. Remains pag.* 344.

The battel of Poictiers followed ten years after, which was fought betwixt the foreſaid Black Prince, and John King of * France. Before the battel began, the Engliſh were reduced to great ſtraits, their enemies being ſix to one. The French conceived the victory, though not in hand, yet within reach, and their arm muſt be put out, not to get but take it.

* *September* 19. 1356.

it. All articles with the Engliſh they accounted alms, it being great charity, but no policy to compound with them. But what ſhall we ſay? Warre is a game wherein very often that ſide loſeth which layeth the oddes. In probability they might have famiſhed the Engliſh without fighting with them, had not they counted it a lean conqueſt ſo to bring their enemies to miſery, without any honour to themſelves.

The concluſion was, that the French would have the Engliſh loſe their honour to ſave their lives, tendring them unworthy conditions, which being refuſed, the battel was begun. The French King made choice of three hundred prime horſmen to make the firſt aſſault on the Engliſh; the election of which threehundred made more then a thouſand * heartburnings in his army: every one counted his loyalty or manhood ſuſpected, who was not choſen into this number; and this took off the edge of their ſpirits againſt their enemies, and turned it into envy and diſdain againſt their friends.

* *Paulus Æmil. in the life of King John, pag. 286.*

The French horſe charged them very furiouſly, whom the Engliſh entertain'd with a feaſt of arrows, firſt, ſecond, third courſe, all alike. Their horſes were galled with the bearded piles, being unuſed to feel ſpurres in their breaſts and buttocks. The beſt horſes were worſt wounded, for their mettall made one wound many; and that arrow which at firſt did but pierce, by their ſtruggling did tear and rend. Then would they know no riders, and the riders could know no ranks; and in ſuch a confuſion, an army fights againſt it ſelf. One rank fell foul with another, and the rere was ready to meet with the front: and the valiant Lord Audley, charging them before they could repair themſelves, overcame all the Horſe, *Quâ parte belli* (ſaith my Authour) *invicti Galli habebantur*. The Horſe being put to flight, the Infantry conſiſting moſt of poore peop'e (whereof many came into the field with conquered hearts, grinded with oppreſsion of their Gentry) counted it neither wit nor manners for them to ſtay, when their betters did flie, and made

made poſt-haſt after them. Six thouſand common ſouldiers were ſlain, fifty two Lords, and ſeventeen hundred Knights and Eſquires; one hundred Enſignes taken, with John the French King, and two thouſand priſoners of note.

The French had a great advantage of an after-game, if they had returned again, and made head, but they had more mind to make heels, and run away. Prince Edward, whoſe proweſſe herein was conſpicuous, overcame his own valour, both in his piety, devoutly giving to God the whole glory of the conqueſt; and in his courteſie, with ſtately humility entertaining the French Priſoner-King, whom he bountifully feaſted that night, though the other could not be merry, albeit he was ſupped with great cheere, and knew himſelf to be very welcome.

The third performance of this valiant Prince, wherein we will inſtance, was acted in Spain, on this occaſion. Peter King of Caſtile was driven out of his kingdome by Henry his baſe Brother, and the aſsiſtance of ſome French forces. Prince Edward on this Peters petition, and by his own Fathers permiſsion, went with an army into Spain, to re-eſtate him in his kingdome: For though this Peter was a notorious Tyrant, (if Authours in painting his deeds do not overſhadow them, to make them blacker then they were) yet our Prince, not looking into his vices but his right, thought he was bound to aſsiſt him: For all Sovereignes are like the ſtrings of a Baſevioll equally tuned to the ſame height, ſo that by ſympathy, he that toucheth the one moves the other. Beſides, he thought it juſt enough to reſtore him, becauſe the French helpt to caſt him out; and though Spain was farre off, yet our Prince never counted himſelf out of his own countrey, whileſt in any part of the world; valour naturalizing a brave ſpirit through the Univerſe.

With much adoe he effected the buſineſſe through many difficulties, occaſioned partly by the treachery of King Peter, who performed none of the conditions promiſed; and partly through

through the barrenneſſe of the countrey, ſo that the Prince was forced to ſell all his own plate, (Spain more needing meat then diſhes) to make proviſion for his ſouldiers ; but eſpecially through the diſtemper of the climate, the aire (or fire ſhall I ſay) thereof being extreme hot, ſo that it is conceived to have cauſed this Princes death, which happened ſoon after his return. What Engliſh heart can hold from inveighing againſt Spaniſh aire, which deprived us of ſuch a jewel ? were it not that it may ſeem ſince to have made us ſome amends, when lately the *breath of our noſtrills* breathed in that climate, and yet by Gods providence was kept there, and returned thence in health and ſafety.

Well may this Prince be taken for a Paragon of his age, and place, having the feweſt vices, with ſo many virtues. Indeed he was ſomewhat given to women, our Chronicles fathering two baſe children on him ; ſo hard it is to find a Sampſon without a Dalila. And ſeeing never King or Kings eldeſt ſonne, ſince the conqueſt before his time married a ſubject, I muſt confeſſe his Match was much beneath himſelf, taking the double reverſion of a ſubjects bed, marrying Joan Counteſſe of Salisbury, which had been twice a widow. But her ſurpaſsing beauty pleads for him herein, and yet her beauty was the meaneſt thing about her, being ſurpaſſ'd by her virtues. And what a worthy woman muſt ſhe needs be her ſelf, whoſe very *garter* hath given ſo much honour to Kings and Princes ?

He dyed at Canterbury, June the eighth 1376 in the fourty ſixth yeare of his age : it being wittily * obſerved of the ſhort lives of many worthy men, *fatuos à morte defendit ipſa inſulſitas ; ſi cui plus cæteris aliquantulum ſalis inſit (quod miremini) ſtatim putreſcit.*

* *Sr. Francis Nethersole in his fun. orat. on Prince Henry, pag. 26.*

Chap. 21.

The King.

HE is a mortall God. This world at the firſt had no other Charter for its being, then Gods *Fiat*: Kings have the

the ſame in the Preſent tenſe, *I have ſaid ye are Gods.* We will deſcribe him, firſt as a good man (ſo was Henry the third) then as a good King (ſo was Richard the third) both which meeting together make a King complete. For he that is not a *good man,* or *but a good man,* can never be a good Sovereigne.

He is temperate in the ordering of his own life. O the Mandate of a Kings example is able to do much! eſpecially he is, *Maxime* 1

1 Temperate in his diet. When Æſchines commended Philip King of Macedon, for a joviall man that would drink freely, * Demoſthenes anſwered, *that this was a good quality in a ſponge, but not in a King.* * *Plutarch in the life of Demoſthenes.*

2 Continent in his pleaſures. Yea Princes lawfull children are farre eaſier provided for then the *rabida fames* of a ſpurious offſpring can be ſatisfied, whileſt their Paramors and Concubines (counting it their beſt manners to carve for themſelves all they can come by) prove intolerably expenſive to a State. Beſides, many rebellions have riſen out of the marriage bed defiled.

He holds his Crown immediately from the God of Heaven. * *The most high ruleth in the kingdomes of men, and giveth them to whomſoever he will. Cujus juſſu naſcuntur homines, ejus juſſu conſtituuntur Principes,* ſaith a * Father: *Inde illis poteſtas unde ſpiritus,* ſaith * another. And whoſoever ſhall remount to the firſt originall of Kings, ſhall loſe his eyes in diſcovering the top thereof, as paſt ken, and touching the heavens. We reade of a place in Mount Olivet (wherein the laſt footſteps, they ſay, of our Saviour before he aſcended into heaven are to be ſeen) that it will ever lie open to the skies, and will not admit of any cloſe or * covering to be made over it how coſtly ſoever. Farre more true is this of the condition of abſolute Kings, who in this reſpect are ever *ſub dio,* ſo that no ſuperiour power can be interpoſed betwixt them and heaven. Yea the Character of loyalty to Kings ſo deeply impreſſ'd in Subjects hearts ſhews that onely Gods finger wrote it there. Hence it is if one chance to conceive ill of his Sovereigne, though within the cabinet of his ſoul, preſently 2

* *Dan.* 4. 17.

* *Irenæus l.* 5. * *Tertull. Apol. pag.* 6. 5.

* Nullo modo contegi aut concamerari poteſt, ſed tranſitus ejus à terra ad cœlum uſque patet apertum, *Adricom. de terra Sancta ex Hieron. & aliis Auctoribus.*

his own heart grows jealous of his own heart, and he could wiſh the tongue cut out of his tell-tale thoughts, leſt they ſhould accuſe themſelves. And though ſometimes Rebels (Atheiſts againſt the God on earth) may labour to obliterate loyaltie in them, yet even then their conſcience, the Kings Aturney, frames Articles againſt them, and they ſtand in daily fear leſt Darius Longimanus (ſuch a one is every King) ſhould reach them, and revenge himſelf.

3 *He claimeth to be ſupreme Head on earth over the Church, in his Dominions.* Which his power over all perſons and cauſes Eccleſiaſticall

1 Is given him by God, who alone hath the originall propriety thereof.

2 Is derived unto him by a preſcription, time out of mind in the Law of Nature, declared more eſpecially in the Word of God.

3 Is cleared and averred by the private Laws and Statutes of that State wherein he lives. For ſince the Pope (ſtarting up from being the Emperours Chaplain to be his Patron) hath invaded the rights of many earthly Princes, many wholſome Laws have been made in ſeverall Kingdomes to aſſert and notifie their Kings juſt power *in Spiritualibus*.

Well therefore may our King look with a frowning face on ſuch, whoſe tails meet in this firebrand (which way ſoever the proſpect of their faces be), to deny Princes power in Church-matters. Two* Jeſuites give this farre-fetch'd reaſon, why * Samuel at the Feaſt cauſed the ſhoulder of the Sacrifice to be *reſerved and kept on purpoſe* for Saul to feed on; *becauſe*, ſay they, *Kings of all men have moſt need of ſtrong ſhoulders, patiently to endure thoſe many troubles and moleſtations they ſhall meet with*, eſpecially, I may well adde, if all their Subjects were as troubleſome and diſloyall as the Jeſuites. The beſt is, as God hath given Kings ſhoulders to bear, he hath alſo given them armes to ſtrike, ſuch as deprive them of their lawfull Authority in Eccleſiaſticall affairs.

* *Zanchez & Velasquez in their Comments on the Text.* 1. *Sam.* 9. 14.

He

He improves his power to defend true Religion. Sacerdotal Offices, though he will not do, he will cauſe them to be done. He will not offer to burn incenſe with Uzziah, yet he will burn Idolaters bones with Joſiah: I mean, advance Piety by puniſhing Profaneneſſe. God * ſaith to his Church, *Kings ſhall be thy Nurſing-fathers, and their Queens thy Nurſing-mothers.* And oh! Let not Princes out of State refuſe to be ſo themſelves, and onely hire others, it belonging to Subjects to ſuck, but to Princes to ſuckle Religion by their authority. They ought to command Gods Word to be read and practiſed, wherein the bleſſed Memory of King James ſhall never be forgotten. His Predeceſſour in England reſtored the Scripture to her Subjects; but he in a manner, reſtored the Scripture to it ſelf, in cauſing the *New Tranſlation* thereof, whereby the meaneſt that can reade Engliſh, in effect underſtands the Greek and Hebrew. A Princely act, which ſhall laſt even when the leaſe of Time ſhall be expired: Verily I ſay unto you, Whereſoever this Tranſlation ſhall be read in the whole realm, there ſhall alſo this that this King hath done, be told in memorial of him. 4

* *Iſaiah* 49. 23.

He uſeth Mercy and Juſtice in his proceedings againſt Offenders. Solomon * ſaith, *The throne is eſtabliſhed by Juſtice*: and Solomon * ſaith, *The throne is upholden by Mercy.* Which two Proverbs ſpeak no more contradiction, then he that ſaith that the two oppoſite ſide-walls of an houſe, hold up the ſame roof. Yea, as ſome Aſtronomers (though erroneouſly) conceived the Cryſtalline Sphere to be made of water, and therefore to be ſet next the *Primum mobile*, to allay the heat thereof, which otherwiſe by the ſwiftneſſe of his motion would ſet all the world on fire; ſo Mercy muſt ever be ſet near Juſtice, for the cooling and tempering thereof. In his mercy, our King deſires to reſemble the God of heaven, who meaſureth his judgements by the ordinary cubit; but his kindneſſes by the cubit of the Sanctuary, twice as big; yea, all the world had been a hell without Gods mercy. 5

* *Prov.* 16. 12.
* *Prov.* 20. 28.

He is rich in having a plentifull exchequer of his peoples hearts. *Allow me*, ſaid Archimedes, *to ſtand in the aire, and I will move* 6

the earth. But our King having a firm footing in his Subjects affections, what may he do, yea what may he not do? making the coward valiant, the miſer liberall; for love, the key of hearts, will open the cloſeſt coffers. Mean time how poore is that Prince amidſt all his wealth, whoſe Subjects are onely kept by a ſlaviſh fear, the jaylour of the ſoul. An iron arm faſtned with ſcrues may be ſtronger, but never ſo uſefull, becauſe not ſo naturall, as an arm of fleſh, joyned with muſcles and ſinews. Loving Subjects are moſt ſerviceable, as being more kindly united to their Sovereigne then thoſe which are onely knock'd on with fear and forcing. Beſides, where Subjects are envaſſaled with fear, Prince and People mutually watch their own advantages, which being once offered them, 'tis wonderfull if they do not, and wofull if they do, make uſe thereof.

7 *He willingly orders his actions by the Laws of his realm.* Indeed ſome maintain that Princes are too high to come under the roof of any Laws, except they voluntarily of their goodneſſe be pleaſed to bow themſelves thereunto, and that it is Corban, a gift and courteſie, in them to ſubmit themſelves to their Laws. But whatſoever the Theories of abſolute Monarchy be, our King loves to be legall in all his practices, and thinks that his power is more ſafely lock'd up for him in his Laws, then kept in his own will; becauſe God alone makes things lawfull by willing them, whileſt the moſt calmeſt Princes have ſometimes guſts of Paſsion, which meeting with an unlimited Authority in them, may prove dangerous to them & theirs. Yea, our King is ſo ſuſpicious of an unbounded power in himſelf, that though the widneſſe of his ſtrides could make all the hedge ſtiles, yet he will not go over, but where he may. He alſo hearkneth to the adviſe of good Counſellers, remembring the ſpeech of Antoninus the Emperour, *Aequius eſt ut ego tot taliúmque amicorum conſilium ſequar, quam tot taléſque amici meam unius voluntatem.* And yet withall our King is carefull to maintain his juſt Prerogative, that as it be not outſtretched, ſo it may not be overſhortned.

Such a gratious Sovereigne God hath vouchſafed to this Land.

How pious is he towards his God! attentive in hearing the Word, preaching Religion with his ſilence, as the Miniſter doth with his ſpeech! How loving to his Spouſe, tender to his Children, faithfull to his ſervants whileſt they are faithfull to their own innocence; otherwiſe leaving them to Juſtice under marks of his diſpleaſure. How doth he with David walk in the *midſt of his houſe* without partiality to any! How juſt is he in puniſhing wilfull murder! ſo that it is as eaſie to reſtore the murthered to life, as to keep the murtherer from death. How mercifull is he to ſuch who not out of leigier malice, but ſudden paſsion may chance to ſhed bloud! to whom his pardon hath allowed leiſure to drop out their own ſouls in tears, by conſtant repentance all the dayes of their lives. How many wholſome Laws hath he enacted for the good of his Subjects! How great is his humilitie in ſo great height! which maketh his own praiſes painfull for himſelf to heare, though pleaſant for others to report. His Royall virtues are too great to be told, and too great to be conceal'd. All cannot, ſome muſt break forth from the full hearts of ſuch as be his thankfull Subjects.

But I muſt either ſtay or fall. My ſight fails me, dazell'd with the luſtre of Majeſtie: all I can do is pray.

Give the King thy judgements, O Lord, and thy righteouſneſſe to the Kings Sonne: ſmite through the loins of thoſe that riſe up againſt his Majeſtie, but upon him and his let the Crown flouriſh: Oh cauſe his Subjects to meet his Princely care for their good, with a proportionable cheerfulneſſe and alacrity in his ſervice, that ſo thereby the happineſſe of Church and State may be continued. Grant this, O Lord, for Chriſt Jeſus his ſake our onely Mediatour and Advocate. Amen.

THE PROFANE STATE.

BY

THOMAS FULLER, B. D.
and Prebendarie of
Sarum.

ISAIAH 32. 5.

The vile person shall be no more called liberall, nor the churl said to be bountifull.

EZEK. 44. 23.

And they shall teach my people the difference betwixt the Holy and the Profane.

CAMBRIDGE:

¶ Printed by ROGER DANIEL for *John Williams*, and are to be sold at the signe of the Crown in St. Pauls Churchyard. 1648.

The Profane State.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

The Harlot

IS one that her ſelf is both merchant and merchandiſe, which ſhe ſelleth for profit, and hath pleaſure given her into the bargain, and yet remains a great loſer. To deſcribe her is very difficult; it being hard to draw thoſe to the life, who never ſit ſtill: ſhe is ſo various in her humours, and mutable, 'tis almoſt impoſsible to character her in a fixed poſture; yea indeed ſome cunning Harlots are not diſcernable from honeſt women. Solomon ſaith, *ſhe wipeth her mouth*; and who can diſtinguiſh betwixt that which was never foul, and that which is cleanly wiped.

Her love is a blank, wherein ſhe writeth the next man that tenders his affection. Impudently the Harlot lied (Prov. 7. 15.) *Therefore came I forth to meet thee, diligently to ſeek thy face, and I have found thee*: elſe underſtand her that ſhe came forth to meet him, not *qua talis*, but *qua primus*, becauſe he came firſt; for any other youngſter in his place would have ſerv'd her turn: yet ſee how ſhe makes his chance her courteſie, ſhe affecting him as much above others, as the common road loves the next paſſenger beſt. *Maxims* 1

As

2 *As ſhe ſees, ſo her ſelf is ſeen by her own eyes.* Sometimes ſhe ſtares on men with full fixed eyes; otherwhiles ſhe ſquints forth glances, and contracts the beams in her burning glaſſes, to make them the hotter to inflame her objects; ſometimes ſhe dejects her eyes in a ſeeming civility, and many miſtake in her a cunning, for a modeſt look. But as thoſe bullets which graze on the ground do moſt miſchief to an army; ſo ſhe hurts moſt with thoſe glances which are ſhot from a down-caſt eye.

3 *She writes characters of wantonneſſe with her feet as ſhe walks*: And what Potiphars wife ſaid with her tongue, ſhe ſaith unto the paſſengers with her geſture and gate, *Come lie with me*; and nothing angrieth her ſo much, as when modeſt men affect a deafneſſe and will not heare, or a dulneſſe and will not underſtand, the language of her behaviour. She counts her houſe a priſon, and is never well, till gadding abroad: ſure 'tis true of women what is obſerved of elm, if lying within doores dry, no timber will laſt ſound longer, but if without doores expoſ'd to weather, no wood ſooner rots and corrupts.

4 *Yet ſome Harlots continue a kind of ſtrange coyneſſe even to the very laſt*: which coyneſſe differs from modeſty, as much as hemlock from parſely. They will deny common favours, becauſe they are too ſmall to be granted: They will part with all or none, refuſe to be courteous, and reſerve themſelves to be diſhoneſt; whereas women truly modeſt, will willingly go to the bounds of free and harmleſſe mirth, but will not be dragg'd any farther.

5 *She is commonly known by her whoriſh attire*: As criſping and curling, (making her hair as winding and intricate as her heart), painting, wearing naked breaſts. The face indeed ought to be bare, and the haft ſhould lie out of the ſheath; but where the back and edge of the knife are ſhown, 'tis to be feared they mean to cut the fingers of others. I muſt confeſſe ſome honeſt women may go thus, but no whit the honeſter for going thus. The ſhip may have Caſtor and Pollux for the badge, and notwithſtanding have S. Paul for the

the lading: yet the modeſty and diſcretion of honeſt Matrons were more to be commended, if they kept greater diſtance from the attire of Harlots.

6 *Sometimes ſhe ties her ſelf in marriage to one, that ſhe may the more freely ſtray to many*: and cares not though her husband comes not within her bed, ſo be it he goeth not out beyond the Foure-ſeas. She uſeth her husband as an hood, whom ſhe caſts off in the fair weather of proſperity, but puts him on for a cover in adverſity, if it chance ſhe prove with child.

7 *Yet commonly ſhe is as barren as luſtfull.* Yea, who can expect that malt ſhould grow to bring new increaſe. Beſides, by many wicked devices ſhe ſeeks on purpoſe to make her ſelf barren (a retrograde act to ſet Nature back) making many iſſues, that ſhe may have no iſſue, and an hundred more damnable devices,

Which wicked projects firſt from hell did flow,
And thither let the ſame in ſilence go,
Beſt known of them who did them never know.

And yet for all her cunning, God ſometimes meets with her (who varieth his wayes of dealing with wantons, that they may be at a loſſe in tracing him) and ſometimes againſt her will ſhe proves with child, which though unable to ſpeak, yet tells at the birth a plain ſtory to the mothers ſhame.

8 *At laſt, when her deeds grow moſt ſhamefull, ſhe grows moſt ſhameleſſe.* So impudent, that ſhe her ſelf ſometimes proves both the poyſon and the antidote, the temptation and the preſervative; young men diſtaſting and abhorring her boldneſſe. And thoſe wantons, who perchance would willingly have gathered the fruit from the tree, will not feed on ſuch fallings.

9 *Generally ſhe dies very poore.* The wealth ſhe gets is like the houſes ſome build in Gothland, made of *ſnow, no laſting fabrick; the rather, becauſe ſhe who took money of thoſe who taſted the top of her wantonneſſe, is fain to give it to ſuch who will drink out the dregs of her luſt.

* *Olaus magnus de Rit. ſept. lib. 1. cap. 23.*

She

10 *She dieth commonly of a lothſome diſeaſe.* I mean that diſeaſe, unknown to Antiquity, created within ſome hundreds of years, which took the name from Naples. When hell invented new degrees in ſinnes, it was time for heaven to invent new puniſhments. Yet is this new diſeaſe now grown ſo common and ordinary, as if they meant to put divine Juſtice to a ſecond task to find out a newer. And now it is high time for our Harlot, being grown lothſome to her ſelf, to runne out of her ſelf by repentance.

Some conceive that when King Henrie the eighth deſtroyed the publick Stews in this Land (which till his time ſtood on the banks ſide on Southwark next the Bear-garden, beaſts and beaſtly women being very fit neighbours) he rather ſcattered then quenched the fire of luſt in this kingdome, and by turning the flame out of the chimney where it had a vent, more endangered the burning of the Commonwealth. But they are deceived: for whileſt the Laws of the Land tolerated open uncleanneſſe, God might juſtly have made the whole State do penance for whoredome; whereas now that ſinne though committed, yet not permitted, and though (God knows) it be too generall, it is ſtill but perſonall.

JOAN *the first of that Name* Queen *of* Naples, *which for her Incontinency and other wicked Practises was put to Death. Anno* 1381. WM *sculp:*

Page 360.

CHAP. 2.

The life of JOAN *Queen of Naples.*

JOan, grandchild to Robert King of Naples by Charles his sonne, succeeded her grandfather in the Kingdome of Naples and Sicily, *Anno* 1343. a woman of a beautifull body, and rare endowments of nature, had not the heat of her lust soured all the rest of her perfections, whose wicked life *and wofull death we now come to relate: And I hope none can justly lay it to my charge, if the foulnesse of her actions stain through the cleanest language I can wrap them in.

*Taken out of Brovius An. Eccles. an. 1344. Petrarch. lib. 5. Epist. & Summontius Hist. Neopol. lib. 3.

She vvas firſt married unto her coſen Andrew, a Prince of royall extraction, and of a ſvveet and loving diſpoſition. But he being not able to ſatisfie her vvantonneſſe, ſhe kept company vvith levvd perſons, at firſt privately, but aftervvards ſhe preſented her badneſſe viſible to every eye, ſo that none need look through the chinks vvhere the doores vvere open.

Novv Elizabeth Queen of Hungary, her husband Andrevvs mother, vvas much offended at the badneſſe of her daughter-in-lavv, vvhoſe deeds vvere ſo foûl ſhe could not look on them, and ſo common ſhe could not look beſides them; vvherefore in a matronly vvay ſhe fairly adviſed her to reform her courſes. For the lives of Princes are more read then their Lavvs, and generally more practiſed: Yea their example paſſeth as current as their coin, and vvhat they do they ſeem to command to be done. Cracks in glaſſe, though paſt mending, are no great matter; but the leaſt flavv in a diamond is conſiderable: Yea her perſonall fault vvas a nationall injury, vvhich might derive and put the Sceptre into a vvrong hand.

Theſe her mild inſtructions ſhe ſharpned with ſevere threatnings: But no razor will cut a ſtony heart. Queen Joan imputed it to ages envy, old people perſwading youth to leave thoſe pleaſures, which have left themſelves. Beſides, a Mother-in-laws Sermon ſeldome takes well with an audience of Daughter-in-laws. Wherefore the old Queen, finding the other paſt grace (that is, never likely to come to it), reſolved no longer to puniſh anothers ſinne on her ſelf, and vex her own righteous ſoul, but leaving Naples return'd into Hungary.

After her departure Queen Joan grew weary of her husband Andrew, complaining of his inſufficiency, though thoſe who have *caninum appetitum* are not competent judges what is ſufficient food: And ſhe cauſed her husband in the city of Averſa, to be hung upon a beam and ſtrangled in the night time, and then threw out his corps into a garden, where it lay ſome dayes unburied.

There

There goes a * ſtory that this Andrew on a day coming into the Queens chamber, and finding her twiſting a thick ſtring of ſilk and ſilver, demanded of her for what purpoſe ſhe made it: She anſwered, *To hang you in it*, which he then little believed, the rather becauſe thoſe who intend ſuch miſchief never ſpeak of it before. But ſuch blows in jeſt-earneſt are moſt dangerous, which one can neither receive in love, nor refuſe in anger.

* *Collenuſius, lib. 5. Regn. Neopol.*

Indeed ſhe ſought in vain to colour the buſineſſe, and to divert the ſuſpicion of the murther from her ſelf, becauſe all the world ſaw that ſhe inflicted no puniſhment on the actours of it which were in her power. And in ſuch a caſe, when a murther is generally known, the ſword of the Magiſtrate cannot ſtand neuter, but doth juſtifie what it doth not puniſh.

Beſides, his corps was not cold, before ſhe was hot in a new love, and married Lewis Prince of Tarentum, one of the beautifulleſt men in the world. But it was hard for her to pleaſe her love and her luſt in the ſame perſon. This Prince waſted the ſtate of his body to pay her the conjugall debt, which ſhe extorted beyond all modeſty or reaſon, ſo unquenchable was the wildfire of her wantonneſſe.

After his death ſhe (hating widowhood as much as Nature doth *vacuum*) married James King of Majorca, and commonly ſtyled Prince of Calabria. Some ſay he dyed of a naturall death: Others, that ſhe beheaded him for lying with another woman (who would ſuffer none to be diſhoneſt but her ſelf.) Others, that he was unjuſtly put to death, and forced to change worlds, that ſhe might change husbands.

Her fourth husband was Otho of Brunſwick, who came a Commander out of Germany, with a company of ſouldiers, and performed excellent ſervice in Italy. A good ſouldier he was, and it was not the leaſt part of his valour to adventure on ſo skittiſh a beaſt: But he hoped to feaſt his hungry fortune on this reverſion. By all foure husbands ſhe had no children; either becauſe the drougth of her vvanton-

neſſe parched the fruit of her wombe; or elſe becauſe provident Nature prevented a generation of Monſters from her.

By this time her ſinnes were almoſt hoarſe with crying to heaven for revenge. They miſtake who think divine Juſtice ſleepeth, when it winks for a while at Offenders. Hitherto ſhe had kept her ſelf in a whole skin by the rents which were in the Church of Rome. For there being a long time a Schiſme betwixt two Popes, Urban, and Clement, ſhe ſo poyſed her ſelf between them both, that ſhe eſcaped unpuniſhed. This is that Queen Joan that gave Avignon in France (yet under a pretence of ſale) to Pope Urban, and his Succeſſours: the ſtomach of his Holineſſe not being ſo ſqueamiſh, but that he would take a good almes from dirty hands. It may make the chaſtity of Rome ſuſpicious with the world, that ſhe hath had ſo good fortune to be a gainer by Harlots.

But ſee now how Charles Prince of Dyrachium, being next of kin to Prince Andrew that was murdered, comes out of Hungary with an army into Naples, to revenge his uncles bloud. He was received without reſiſtance of any, his very name being a Petrard to make all the city-gates fly open where he came. Out iſſues Otho the Queens husband, with an army of men out of Naples, and moſt ſtoutly bids him battel, but is overthrown; yet was he ſuffered fairly to depart the kingdome, diſmiſſ'd with this commendation, That never a more valiant Knight fought in defence of a more vitious Lady.

Queen Joan finding it now in vain to bend her fiſt, fell to bowing of her knees, and having an excellent command of all her paſsions, ſave her luſt, fell down flat before Charles the Conquerour, and ſubmitted her ſelf: *Hitherto*, ſaid ſhe, *I have eſteemed thee in place of a ſonne, but ſeeing God will have it ſo, hereafter I ſhall acknowledge thee for my Lord.* Charles knew well that Neceſsity, her Secretary, endited her ſpeech for her, which came little from her heart; yet, to ſhew that he had as plentifull an Exchequer of good language, promiſ'd her fairly for the preſent: But mercy it ſelf would be aſham'd

to

to pity ſo notorious a maleſactour. After ſome moneths impriſonment, ſhe was carried to the place where her husband was murder'd, and there accordingly hang'd, and caſt out of the window into the garden, whoſe corps at laſt was buried in the Nunnery of S. Clare.

Chap. 3.

The Witch.

BEfore we come to deſcribe her, we muſt premiſe and prove certain propoſitions, whoſe truth may otherwiſe be doubted of.

1 *Formerly there were Witches.* Otherwiſe Gods * Law had fought againſt a ſhadow, *Thou ſhalt not ſuffer a Witch to live*: yea we reade how King Saul, who had formerly ſcou ed Witches out of all Iſrael, afterwards drank a draught of that puddle himſelf. *Exod. 18. 22.

2 *There are Witches for the preſent, though thoſe Night-birds flie not ſo frequently in flocks, ſince the light of the Goſpel.* Some ancient arts and myſteries are ſaid to be loſt; but ſure the devil will not wholly let down any of his gainfull trades. There be many Witches at this day in Lapland, who ſell winds to Mariners for money, (and muſt they not needs go whom the devil drives?) though we are not bound to believe the old ſtory of Ericus King of Swedeland, who had a * cap, and as he turned it, the wind he wiſh'd for would blow on that ſide.

* *Therefore called,* Ventoſus pileus, *Olaus mag de Gent. ſeptent. lib. 3. cap. 14.*

3 *It is very hard to prove a Witch.* Infernall contracts are made without witneſſes. She that in preſence of others will compact with the devil, deſerves to be hang'd for her folly, as well as impiety.

4 *Many are unjuſtly accuſed for Witches.* Sometimes out of ignorance of naturall, and miſapplying of ſupernaturall cauſes; ſometimes out of their neighbours mere

malice, and the ſuſpicion is increaſ'd, if the party accuſed be noriouſly ill-favoured; whereas deformity alone is no more argument to make her a Witch, then handſomneſſe had been evidence to prove her an Harlot; ſometimes out of their own cauſleſſe confeſſion. Being brought before a Magiſtrate they acknowledge themſelves to be Witches, being themſelves rather bewitch'd with fear, or deluded with phancy. But the ſelf-accuſing of ſome is as little to be credited, as the ſelf-praiſing of others, if alone without other evidence.

5 *Witches are commonly of the feminine ſex.* Ever ſince Satan tempted our grandmother Eve, he knows that that ſex is moſt licoriſh to taſt, and moſt careleſſe to ſwallow his baits. * *Neſcio quid habet muliebre nomen ſemper cum ſacris*: if they light well, they are inferiour to few men in piety; if ill, ſuperiour to all in ſuperſtition.

* *Fulgentius in Sermon.*

6 *They are commonly diſtinguiſhed into White and black Witches.* White, I dare not ſay good Witches, (*for woe be to him that calleth evil good*) heal thoſe that are hurt, and help them to loſt goods. But better it is to lap ones pottage like a dog, then to eat it mannerly with a ſpoon of the devils giving: Black Witches hurt, and do miſchief. But in deeds of darkneſſe there is no difference of colours: The white and the black are both guilty alike in compounding with the devil. And now we come to ſee by what degrees people arrive at this height of profaneneſſe.

Maxime 1 *At the firſt ſhe is onely ignorant, and very malicious.* She hath uſually a bad face, and a worſe tongue, given to railing and curſing, as if conſtantly bred on mount Ebal; yet ſpeaking perchance worſe then ſhe means, though meaning worſe then ſhe ſhould. And as the harmleſſe wapping of a curſ'd curre, may ſtirre up a fierce maſtiffe to the worrying of ſheep; ſo on her curſing the devil may take occaſion by Gods permiſsion to do miſchief, without her knowledge, and perchance againſt her will.

Some

Some have been made * *Witches by endeavouring to defend themſelves againſt witchcraft*: for fearing ſome ſuſpected Witch ſhould hurt them, they fence themſelves with the devils ſhield againſt the devils ſword, put on his *whole armour*, beginning to uſe ſpells and charms to ſafeguard themſelves. The art is quickly learnt to which nothing but credulity and practice is required; and they often fall from defending themſelves to offending of others, eſpecially the devil not being dainty of his company, where he finds welcome; and being invited once, he haunts ever after.

2

* Multi dum vitare ſtudent quæ vitanda non ſunt, fugâ vanâ ſuperſtitionis ſuperſtitioſi ſunt, *Cardan. de Subtil. pag. 924. lib. 8.*

She begins at firſt with doing tricks, rather ſtrange then hurtfull: yea ſome of them are pretty and pleaſing. But it is dangerous to gather flowers that grow on the banks of the pit of hell, for fear of falling in; yea they which play with the devils rattles, will be brought by degrees to wield his ſword, and from making of ſport they come to doing of miſchief.

3

At laſt ſhe indents downright with the devil. He is to find her ſome toies for a time, and to have her ſoul in exchange. At the firſt (to give the devil his due) he obſerves the agreement to keep up his credit, elſe none would trade with him; though at laſt he either deceives her with an equivocation, or at ſome other ſmall hole this Serpent winds out himſelf, and breaks the covenants. And where ſhall ſhe poore wretch ſue the forfeited band? in heaven ſhe neither can nor dare appear; on earth ſhe is hang'd if the contract be proved; in hell her adverſary is judge, and it is wofull to appeal from the devil to the devil. But for a while let us behold her in her ſuppoſed felicity.

4

She taketh her free progreſſe from one place to another. Sometimes the devil doth locally tranſport her: but he will not be her conſtant hackney, to carry ſuch luggage about, but oftentimes to ſave portage, deludes her brains in her ſleep, ſo that they brag of long journeys, whoſe heads never travell'd from their boſters. Theſe with Drake ſail about the world, but it is on an ocean of their own phancies, and in a ſhip of the ſame: They boaſt of brave banquets they have been

5

at, but they would be very lean ſhould they eat no other meat: Others will perſwade, if any liſt to believe, that by a Witch-bridle they can make a fair of horſes of an acre of beſome-weed. Oh ſilly ſouls! Oh ſubtle Satan that deceived them.

6 *With ſtrange figures and words ſhe ſummons the devils to attend her*: uſing a language which God never made at the confuſion of Tongues, and an interpreter muſt be fetch'd from hell to expound it. With theſe, or Scripture abuſed, the devil is ready at her ſervice. Who would ſuppoſe that roaring lion could ſo finely act the ſpaniel? one would think he were too old *to ſuck*, and yet he will do that alſo for advantage.

7 *Sometimes ſhe enjoyns him to do more for her then he is able*; as to wound thoſe whom Gods providence doth arm, or to break through the tents of bleſſed Angels, to hurt one of Gods Saints. Here Satan is put to his ſhifts, and his wit muſt help him, where his power fails; he either excuſeth it, or ſeemingly performs it, lengthning his own arm by the dimneſſe of her eye, and preſenting the ſeeming bark of that tree which he cannot bring.

8 *She lives commonly but very poore.* Methinks ſhe ſhould bewitch to her ſelf a golden mine, at leaſt good meat, and whole clothes: But 'tis as rare to ſee one of her profeſsion, as an hangman, in an whole ſuit. Is the poſſeſsion of the devils favour here no better? Lord, what is the reverſion of it hereafter!

9 *When arraigned for her life, the devil leaves her to the Law to ſhift for her ſelf.* He hath worn out all his ſhoes in her former ſervice, and will not now go barefoot to help her; and the circle of the halter is found to be too ſtrong for all her Spirits. Yea * Zoroaſtes himſelf, the firſt inventer of Magick, (though he laught at his birth) led a miſerable life, and dyed a wofull death in baniſhment. We will give a double example of a Witch: firſt of a reall one, out of the Scripture, becauſe it ſhall be above all exception; and then of one deeply ſuſpected, out of our own Chronicles.

* *Plinius, lib. 3. cap. 1.*

CHAP. 4.

Chap. 4.

The Witch of Endor.*

* 1. Sam. 28.

HEr proper name we neither find, nor need curiouſly enquire: without it ſhe is deſcrib'd enough for our knowledge, too much for her ſhame.

King Saul had baniſh'd all Witches and Sorcerers out of Iſrael; but no beſom can ſweep ſo clean, as to leave no crumme of duſt behind it: This Witch of Endor ſtill keeps her ſelf ſafe in the land. God hath *his remnant* where Saints are cruelly perſecuted; Satan alſo his remnant, where offenders are ſeverely proſecuted, and (if there were no more) the whole *ſpecies* of Witches is preſerved in this *individuum*, till more be provided.

It happened now that King Saul, being ready to fight with the Philiſtines, was in great diſtreſſe, becauſe God anſwered him not concerning the ſucceſſe of the battel. With the ſilent, he will be ſilent: Saul gave no reall anſwer in his obedience to Gods commands, God will give no vocall anſwer to Sauls requeſts.

Mens minds are naturally ambitious to know things to come: Saul is reſtleſſe to know the iſſue of the fight. Alas, what needed he to ſet his teeth on edge with the ſoureneſſe of that bad tidings, who ſoon after was to have his belly full thereof.

He ſaid to his ſervants, *Seek me out* (no wonder ſhe was ſuch a jewel to be ſought for) *one with a familiar Spirit*: which was accordingly perform'd, and Saul came to her in a diſguiſe. Formerly Samuel told him, that his *diſobedience was as witchcraft*; now Saul falls from the like to the ſame, and tradeth with Witches indeed, (the receiver is as bad as the thief) and at his requeſt ſhe raiſeth up Samuel to come unto him.

What, true Samuel? It is above Satans power to degrade a Saint from glory, though for a moment; ſince his own fall thence,

thence, he could fetch none from heaven. Or was it onely the true body of Samuel? no; the pretious aſhes of the Saints (the pawn for the return of their ſouls) are lock'd up ſafe in the cabinet of their graves, and the devil hath no key unto it. Or laſtly was it his ſeeming body? he that could not counterfeit the leaſt and worſt of * worms, could he diſſemble the ſhape of one of the beſt and greateſt of men?

* *Exod.*8. 18.

Yet this is moſt probable, ſeeing Satan could change himſelf into an Angel of light, and God gives him more power at ſome times then at other. However, we will not be too peremptory herein, and build ſtanding ſtructures of bold aſſertions on ſo uncertain a foundation: rather with the Rechabites we will live in tents of conjectures, which on better reaſon we may eaſily alter and remove.

The devils ſpeech looks backward and forward, relates and foretells: the Hiſtoriall part thereof is eaſie, recounting Gods ſpeciall favours to Saul, and his ingratitude to God, and the matter thereof very pious. *Not every one that ſaith Lord, Lord* (whether to him or of him) *ſhall enter into the kingdome of heaven*: for Satan here uſeth the Lords name ſix times in foure verſes. The Propheticall part of his ſpeech is harder, how he could foretell, *to morrow ſhalt thou and thy ſonnes be with me*: what, with me true Samuel in heaven? that was too good a place (will ſome ſay) for Saul: or with me true Satan in hell? that was too bad a place for Jonathan. What then? with me pretended Samuel in אוֹב in the ſtate of the dead.

But how came the Witch or Satan by this knowledge? ſurely that uggly monſter never look'd his face in that beautifull glaſſe of the Trinity, which (as ſome will have it) repreſents things to the bleſſed Angels. No doubt then he gathered it by experimentall collection, who, having kept an exact Ephemerides of all actions for more then five thouſand years together, can thereby make a more then probable gueſſe of future contingents; the rather, becauſe accidents in this world, are not ſo much new as renewed. Beſides, he ſaw it in the naturall cauſes, in the ſtrength of the Philiſtines,

and

and weakneſſe of the Iſraelitiſh army,& in Davids ripeneſſe to ſucceed Saul in the Throne. Perchance as vulturs are ſaid to ſmell the earthlineſſe of a dying corps; ſo this bird of prey reſented a worſe then earthly ſavour in the ſoul of Saul, an evidence of his death at hand. Or elſe we may ſay, the devil knew it by particular revelation; for God to uſe the devil for his own turn, might impart it unto him, to advance wicked mens repute of Satans power, that they who would be deceived, ſhould be deceived to believe that Satan knows more then he does.

The diſmall news ſo frighted Saul, that he fell along on the earth, and yet at laſt is perſwaded to ariſe and eat meat, ſhe killing and dreſsing a fat calf for him.

Witches generally are ſo poore they can ſcarce feed themſelves: ſee here one able to feaſt a King. *That which goeth into the mouth defileth not*: better eat meat of her dreſsing,then take counſell of her giving; and her hands might be clean,whoſe ſoul meddled with unclean ſpirits. Saul muſt eat ſomewhat, that he might be ſtrengthened to live to be kill'd, as afterwards it came to paſſe. And here the mention of this Witch in Scripture vaniſheth away, and we will follow her no farther. If afterward ſhe eſcaped the juſtice of man, Gods judgement, without her repentance, hath long ſince overtaken her.

JOAN *of* Arc *the Victorious Leader of the* French *Armyes, She was condemned by the* English *for a* Witch, *& burnt at* Rohan *July the* 6th 1461. *being about* 22 *yeares of Age.*
Page 373. W. *Marshall sculp:*

CHAP. 5.

The life of JOAN *of Arc.*

JOan of Arc was born in a village called Domrenny upon the Marches of Bar, near to Vaucoleurs. Her parents, James of Arc and Iſabell, were very poore people, and brought her up to keep ſheep: where for a while we will leave her, and come to behold the miſerable eſtate of the kingdome of France vvherein ſhe lived.

In her time Charles the ſeventh vvas the diſtreſſed French King, having onely tvvo entire Provinces left him, Gaſcoigne and

and Languedoc, and his enemies were about them, and in all the reſt, which were poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, under their young King Henrie the ſixth, and his aged Generalls the Duke of Bedford, and the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk. Beſides they had beſieged the city of Orleance, and brought it to that paſſe, that the higheſt hopes of thoſe therein, was to yield on good terms.

Matters ſtanding in this wofull caſe, three French * Noblemen projected with themſelves, to make a cordiall for the conſumption of the ſpirits of their King and Countreymen; but this ſeemed a great difficulty to perform, the French people being ſo much dejected: and when mens hearts are once down, it is hard to faſten any pullies to them to draw them up. However, they reſolved to pitch upon ſome project out of the ordinary road of accidents, to elevate the peoples phancies thereby, knowing that mens phancies eaſily ſlip off from ſmooth and common things, but are quickly catch'd and longeſt kept, in ſuch plots as have odde angles, and ſtrange unuſuall corners in them.

* *Girard Seigneur du Haillizan, in Charles the ſeventh.*

Hereupon they concluded to ſet up the foreſaid Joan of Arc, to make her pretend that ſhe had a revelation from heaven, to be the leader of an army, to drive all the Engliſh out of France: and ſhe being an handſome, witty, and bold maid (about twentie years of age,) was both apprehenſive of the plot, and very active to proſecute it. But other Authours will not admit of any ſuch complotting, but make her moved thereunto, either of her own, or by ſome ſpirits inſtigation.

By the mediation of a Lord, ſhe is brought to the preſence of King Charles, whom ſhe inſtantly knew, though never ſeen before, and at that time of ſet purpoſe much diſguiſed. This very thing ſome heighten to a miracle, though others make it fall much beneath a wonder, as being no more then a Scholars ready-ſaying of that leſſon, which he hath former learned without book. To the King ſhe boldly delivers her meſſage, how that this was the time wherein the ſinnes of the Engliſh, and the ſufferings

of the French, were come to the height, and ſhe appointed by the God of heaven, to be the French leader to conquer the Engliſh If this opportunity were let ſlip, let them thank heavens bounty for the tender, and their own folly for the refuſall; and who would pity their eternall ſlavery, who thruſt their own liberty from themſelves.

He muſt be deaf indeed who heares not that ſpoken which he deſires. Charles triumphs at this news: Both his arms were too few to embrace the motion. The Fame of her flies through France, and all talk of her, whom the Divines eſteem as Deborah, the Souldiers as Semiramis. People found out a neſt of miracles in her education, that ſo lyon-like a ſpirit ſhould be bred amongſt ſheep, like David.

Ever after ſhe went in mans clothes, being armed cap-a-pe, and mounted on a brave Steed: and which was a wonder, when ſhe was on horſeback, none was more bold and daring; when * alighted, none more tame and meek; ſo that one could ſcarce ſee her for her ſelf, ſhe was ſo chang'd and alter'd as if her ſpirits diſmounted with her body. No ſword would pleaſe her, but one taken out of the * Church of S. Katharine in Fierebois in Tourain. Her firſt ſervice was in twice victualling of Orleance, whileſt the Engliſh made no reſiſtance, as if they had eyes onely to gaze, and no arms to fight.

Hence ſhe ſent a menacing * letter to the Earl of Suffolk, the Engliſh Generall, commanding him in Gods and her own name to yield up the keyes of all good cities to her, the Virgin ſent by God to reſtore them to the French. The letter was received with ſcorn; and the trumpeter that brought it commanded to be burnt, againſt the Law of Nations, ſaith a French * Authour, but erroneouſly: for his coming was not warranted by the authority of any lawfull Prince, but from a private maid, how highly ſoever ſelf-pretended, who had neither eſtate to keep, nor commiſsion to ſend a trumpeter.

Now the minds of the French vvere all afloat with this the

* *Gerſon. lib. de mirab. victoria cujusdam puellæ, paulò poſt initium.*

* *Polidor. Virg. in Hen. ſixth, pag. 471.*

* *See the copy thereof in Speeds King Hen. ſixth, pag. 654.*

* *Du Serres in his French Hiſt. tranſlat. by Grimſton, pag. 326.*

the conceit of their New Generall, which miraculouſly raiſed their Spirits. Phancie is the caſtle commanding the city; and if once mens heads be poſſeſt with ſtrange imaginations, the whole body will follow, and be infinitely tranſported therewithall. Under her conduct they firſt drive away the Engliſh from Orleance: nor was ſhe a whit daunted, when ſhot through her arm with an arrow; but taking the arrow in one hand, and her ſword in another, *This is a* * *favour*, ſaid ſhe; *let us go on, they cannot eſcape the hand of God*: and ſhe never left off, till ſhe had beaten the Engliſh from the city. And hence this virago (call her now John or Joan) marched on into other countreys, which inſtantly revolted to the French crown. The example of the firſt place was the reaſon of all the reſt to ſubmit. The Engliſh in many skirmiſhes were worſted and defeated with few numbers. But what ſhall we ſay? when Gods intends a Nation ſhall be beaten, he ties their hands behind them.

*Idem. p. 317.

The French followed their blow, loſing no time, leſt the height of their Spirits ſhould be remitted (: mens Imaginations vvhen once on foot, muſt ever be kept going, like thoſe that go on ſtilts in fenny countreys, leſt ſtanding ſtill they be in danger of falling) and ſo keeping the conceit of their ſouldiers at the height, in one twelvemoneth they recovered the greateſt part of that the Engliſh did poſſeſſe.

But ſucceſſe did afterwards fail this She-Generall: for ſeeking to ſurpriſe S. Honories ditch near the city of S. Denis, ſhe was not onely wounded her ſelf, but alſo loſt a Troup of her beſt and moſt reſolute ſouldiers; and not long after, nigh the city of Compeigne, being too farre engaged in fight, was taken priſoner by the baſtard of Vendoſme, who ſold her to the Duke of Bedford, and by him ſhe was kept a priſoner a twelvemoneth in Rohan.

It was much diſputed amongſt the Statiſts vvhat ſhould be done vvith her: Some held that no puniſhment vvas to be inflicted on her, becauſe

Nullum memorabile nomen
Fœminea in pœna.
Cruelty to a woman,
Brings honour unto no man.

Beſides, putting her to death, would render all Engliſh men guilty which ſhould hereafter be taken priſoners by the French. Her former valour deſerved praiſe, her preſent miſery deſerved pity; captivity being no ill action, but ill ſucceſſe: let them rather allow her an honourable penſion, and ſo make her valiant deeds their own by rewarding them. However, ſhe ought not to be put to death: for if the Engliſh would puniſh her, they could not more diſgrace her then with life, to let her live though in a poore mean way, and then ſhe would be the beſt confutation of her own glorious propheſies; let them make her the Laundreſſe to the Engliſh, who was the Leader to the French army.

Againſt theſe arguments neceſsitie of State was urged, a reaſon above all reaſon; it being in vain to diſpute whether that may be done, which muſt be done. For the French ſuperſtition of her, could not be reformed except the idole was deſtroyed; and it would ſpoil the French puppet-playes in this nature for ever after, by making her an example. Beſides, ſhe was no priſoner of warre, but a priſoner of Juſtice, deſerving death for her witchcraft and whoredomes; whereupon ſhe was burnt at Rohan the ſixth of July 1461, not without the aſperſion of * cruelty on our Nation.

Learned * men are in a great doubt what to think of her. Some make her a Saint, and inſpired by Gods Spirit, whereby ſhe diſcovered ſtrange ſecrets, and foretold things to come. She had ever an old * woman which went with her, and tutoured her; and 'tis ſuſpicious, ſeeing this clock could not go without that ruſty wheel, that theſe things might be done by confederacie, though ſome more uncharitable conceive them to be done by Satan himſelf.

Two cuſtomes ſhe had which can by no way be defended. One was her conſtant going in mans clothes, flatly againſt Scripture:

* Sententia poſt homines natos duriſsima, *Pol. Vir. pag.* 477.
* *Gerſon in the book which he wrote of her, after long diſcuſsing the point, leaves it uncertain, but is rather charitably inclined.*
* *Serres, pag.* 325.

Scripture: yea, mark all the miracles in Gods Word, wherein though mens eſtates be often chang'd (poore to rich, bond to free, ſick to ſound, yea dead to living) yet we reade of no old Æſon made young, no woman Iphis turn'd to a man, or man Tireſias to a woman; but as for their age or ſex, where nature places them, there they ſtand, and miracle it ſelf will not remove them. Utterly unlawfull therefore was this Joans behaviour, as an occaſion to luſt; and our Engliſh Writers ſay, that when ſhe was to be condemned, ſhe confeſſ'd her ſelf to be with * child to prolong her life; but being reprived ſeven moneths for the triall thereof, it was found falſe. But grant her honeſt: though ſhe did not burn her ſelf, yet ſhe might kindle others, and provoke them to wantonneſſe.

* *Pol. Virgil. ut prius.*

Beſides, ſhe ſhaved her hair in the faſhion of a * Frier, againſt Gods expreſſe word, it being alſo a Soleciſme in nature, all women being born votaries, and the veil of their long hair minds them of their obedience, they naturally owe to man: yea, without this comely ornament of hair, their moſt glorious beauty appears as deformed, as the ſunne would be prodigious without beams. Herein ſhe had a ſmack of Monkery, which makes all the reſt the more ſuſpicious, as being ſent to maintain as well the Friers, as the French Crown. And if we ſurvey all the pretended miracles of that age, we ſhall find what tune ſoever they ſung, ſtill they had ſomething in the cloſe in the favour of Friers, though brought in as by the by, yet perchance chiefly intended, ſo that the whole ſentence was made for the parentheſis.

* *Gerſon.*

We will cloſe the different opinions which ſeverall Authours have of her, with this Epitaph,

Here lies Joan of Arc, the which
Some count ſaint, and ſome count witch;
Some count man, and ſomething more;
Some count maid, and ſome a whore:
Her life's in queſtion, wrong, or right;
Her death's in doubt, by laws, or might.

Oh innocence take heed of it,
How thou too near to guilt doſt ſit.
(Mean time France a wonder ſaw,
A woman rule 'gainſt Salique Law.)
But, Reader, be content to ſtay
Thy cenſure, till the Judgement-day:
Then ſhalt thou know, and not before,
Whether Saint, Witch, Man, Maid, or Whore.

Some conceive that the Engliſh conqueſts, being come to the verticall point, would have decayed of themſelves, had this woman never been ſet up, which now reaps the honour hereof as her action: Though thus a very child may ſeem to turn the waves of the ſea with his breath, if caſually blowing on them at that very inſtant when the tide is to turn of it ſelf. Sure after her death the French went on victoriouſly, and wonne all from the Engliſh, partly by their valour, but more by our diſſenſions; for then began the cruell warres betwixt the Houſes of York and Lancaſter, till the Red roſe might become White, by loſing ſo much bloud, and the White roſe Red by ſhedding it.

Chap. 6.

The Atheiſt.

THe word *Atheiſt* is of a very large extent: every Polytheiſt is in effect an Atheiſt, for he that multiplies a Deitie, annihilates it; and he that devides it, deſtroyes it.

But amongſt the heathen we may obſerve that whoſoever ſought to withdraw people from their idolatry, was preſently indited and arraign'd of Atheiſme. If any Philoſopher ſaw God through their gods, this duſt was caſt in his eyes, for being more quick-ſighted then others, that preſently he was condemn'd for an Atheiſt; and thus Socrates the Pagan Martyr was put to death * ὡς Ἄθεος. At this day three ſorts of Atheiſts are extant in the world:

* *Juſtin. Martyr ſecund. Apolog. pro Chriſtian. pag. 56.*

1 In

1 In life and converſation. Pſal. 10. 4. *God is not in all his thoughts*; not that he thinks there is no God; but thinks not there is a God, never minding or heeding him in the whole courſe of his life and actions.

2 In will and deſire. Such could wiſh there were no God, or devil; as thieves would have no judge nor jaylour; *Quod metuunt periiſſe expetunt.*

3 In judgement and opinion. Of the former two ſorts of Atheiſts, there are more in the world then are generally thought; of this latter, more are thought to be, then there are, a contemplative Atheiſt being very rare, ſuch as were * Diagoras, Protagoras, Lucian, and Theodorus, who though carrying God in his name, was an Atheiſt in his opinion. Come we to ſee by what degrees a man may climbe up to this height of Profaneneſſe. And we will ſuppoſe him to be one living in wealth and proſperity, which more diſpoſeth men to Atheiſme then adverſity: For affliction mindeth men of a Deity, as thoſe which are pinched will cry, *O Lord*: but much outward happineſſe abuſed, occaſioneth men, as wiſe Agur obſerveth, *to deny God, and ſay, Who is the Lord.*

* *Auguſt. tom. 7. lib. 3. contra Petilianum, c. 1. David cùm dicit,* Stultus dixit in corde, *&c. videtur Diagoram prædixiſſe.*

Firſt he quarrels at the diverſities of religions in the world: complaining how great Clerks diſſent in their judgements, which makes him ſcepticall in all opinions: Whereas ſuch differences ſhould not make men careleſſe to have any, but carefull to have the beſt religion. *Maxime* 1

He loveth to maintain Paradoxes, and to ſhut his eyes againſt the beams of a known truth; not onely for diſcourſe, which might be permitted: for as no cloth can be woven except the woof and the warp be caſt croſſe one to another, ſo diſcourſe will not be maintained without ſome oppoſition for the time. But our enclining-atheiſt goes further, engaging his affections in diſputes, even in ſuch matters where the ſuppoſing them wounds piety, but the poſitive maintaining them ſtabs it to the heart. 2

He ſcoffs and makes ſport at ſacred things. This by degrees 3

abates the reverence of religion, and ulcers mens hearts with profaneneſſe. The Popiſh Proverb well underſtood hath a truth in it, *Never dog bark'd againſt the Crucifix, but he ran mad.*

4 *Hence he proceeds to take exception at Gods Word.* He keeps a regiſter of many difficult places of Scripture, not that he deſires ſatisfaction therein, but delights to puzzle Divines therewith; and counts it a great conqueſt when he hath poſed them. Unneceſſary queſtions out of the Bible are his moſt neceſſary ſtudy; and he is more curious to know where Lazarus his ſoul was the foure dayes he lay in the grave, then carefull to provide for his own ſoul when he ſhall be dead. Thus is it juſt with God, that they who will not feed on the plain meat of his Word, ſhould be choked with the bones thereof. But his principall delight is to ſound the alarum, and to ſet ſeverall places of Scripture to fight one againſt another, betwixt which there is a ſeeming, and he would make a reall contradiction.

5 *Afterwards he grows ſo impudent as to deny the Scripture it ſelf.* As Sampſon being faſtned by a web to a pin, carried away both web and pin; ſo if any urge our Atheiſt with arguments from Scripture, and tie him to the Authority of Gods Word, he denies both reaſon and Gods Word, to which the reaſon is faſtened.

6 *Hence he proceeds to deny God himſelf.* Firſt, in his Adminiſtration; then in his Eſſence. What elſe could be expected but that he ſhould bite at laſt, who had ſnarl'd ſo long? Firſt he denies Gods ordering of ſublunarie matters; *Tuſh, doth the Lord ſee, or is there knowledge in the moſt Higheſt?* making him a maimed Deity, without an eye of Providence, or an arm of Power, and at moſt reſtraining him onely to matters above the clouds. But he that dares to confine the King of heaven, will ſoon after endeavour to depoſe him, and fall at laſt flatly to deny him.

7 *He furniſheth himſelf with an armoury of arguments to fight againſt his own conſcience*: Some taken from

1 The impunity and outward happineſſe of wicked men: as the heathen Poet, whoſe verſes for me ſhall paſſe unengliſhed.

Eſſe

Esse Deos credámne? fidem jurata fefellit,
Et facies illi, quæ fuit ante, manet.

* *Ovid. lib. 3. Amor. Eleg. 3.*

And no wonder if an Atheist breaks his neck thereat, whereat the foot of David himself did almost * slip, when he saw the prosperity of the wicked; whom God onely reprives for punishment hereafter.

* *Psal. 73. 2, 3.*

2 From the afflictions of the godly, whilest indeed God onely tries their faith and patience. As Absalom complain'd of his Father Davids government, that none were deputed to redresse peoples grievances; so he objects that none righteth the wrongs of Gods people, and thinks (proud dust) the world would be better steered if he were the Pilot thereof.

3 From the delaying of the day of Judgement, with those mockers 2. *Peter* 3. Whose objections the Apostle fully answereth. And in regard of his own particular, the Atheist hath as little cause to rejoyce at the deferring of the day of Judgement, as the Thief hath reason to be glad, that the Assizes be put off, who is to be tryed, and may be executed before, at the Quarter-sessions: So death may take our Atheist off, before the day of Judgement come.

With these and other arguments he struggles with his own conscience, and long in vain seeks to conquer it, even fearing that Deity he flouts at, and dreading that God whom he denies. And as that famous Athenian souldier * Cynegirus, catching hold of one of the enemies ships held it first with his right hand, and when that was cut off, with his left, and when both were cut off, yet still kept it with his teeth; so the conscience of our Atheist, though he bruise it, and beat it, and maim it never so much, still keeps him by the teeth, still feeding and gnawing upon him, torturing and tormenting him with thoughts of a Deity, which the other desires to suppresse.

* *Justin. lib. 2.*

8 *At last he himself is utterly overthrown by conquering his own conscience.* God in justice takes from him the light which he thrust from himself, and delivers him up to a seared conscience,

ence, and a reprobate mind, whereby hell takes poſſeſsion of him. The Apoſtle ſaith, *Acts* 17. 27. That a man may feel God in his works : But now our Atheiſt hath a dead palſey, is paſt all ſenſe, and cannot perceive God who is every where preſented unto him. It is moſt ſtrange, yet moſt true, which is reported, that the arms of the Duke of Rohan France, which are *fuſills* or *lozenges*, are to be ſeen in the the wood or ſtones throughout all his countrey, ſo that break a ſtone in the middle, or lop a bough of a tree, and one ſhall behold the grain thereof (by ſome ſecret cauſe in Nature) * diamonded or ſtreaked in the faſhion of a lozenge : yea the very ſame in effect is obſerved in England : for the reſemblances of ſtarres, the arms of the worſhipfull family of the Shugburies in Warwickſhire, are found in the * ſtones within their own mannour of Shugbury. But what ſhall we ſay? The arms of the God of heaven, namely Power, Wiſdome, and Goodneſſe, are to be ſeen in every creature in the world, even from worms to men ; and yet our Atheiſt will not acknowledge them, but aſcribes them either to Chance, (but could a blind painter limme ſuch curious pictures) or elſe to Nature, which is a mere ſlight of the devil to conceal God from men, by calling him after another name ; for what is *natura naturans* but God himſelf ?

* *Becauſe of theſe naturall forms in wood and ſtone, it ſeems that from thence the Dukes aſſum'd their armes.*
* *Cambd. Brit. in Warwickſhire.*

9

His death commonly is moſt miſerable : either burnt, as Diagoras ; or eaten up with lice, as * Pherecydes ; or devoured by dogs, as Lucian ; or thunder-ſhot and turn'd to aſhes, as Olimpius. However deſcending impenitent into hell, there he is Atheiſt no longer, but hath as much religion as the devil, *to confeſſe God and tremble* :

* *Paul. Diacon. lib.* 15.

Nullus in inferno eſt Atheos, ante fuit.
On earth were Atheiſts many,
In hell there is not any.

All ſpeak truth, when they are on the rack ; but it is a wofull thing to be hells Convert. And there we leave the Atheiſt, having dwelt the longer on his Character, becauſe that ſpeech of worthy Mr. * Greenham deſerves to be heeded, *That Atheiſme in England is more to be feared then Popery.*

* *In his grave Counſell, pag.* 3.

To

To give an inſtance of a ſpeculative Atheiſt, is both hard and dangerous: hard; for we cannot ſee mens ſpeculations, otherwiſe then as they cloth themſelves viſible in their actions, ſome Atheiſticall ſpeeches being not ſufficient evidence to convict the ſpeaker an Atheiſt. Dangerous; for what ſatisfaction can I make to their memories, if I challenge any of ſo foul a crime wrongfully? We may more ſafely inſiſt on an Atheiſt in life and converſation; and ſuch a one was he whom we come to deſcribe.

Chap. 7.

The life of Cesar Borgia.

Ceſar Borgia was baſe-ſon to Rhoderick Borgia, otherwiſe called Pope Alexander the ſixth. This Alexander was the * firſt of the Popes who openly owned his baſtards; and whereas his Predeceſſours (counting fig-leaves better then nothing to cover their nakedneſſe) diſguiſed them under the names of Nephews and God-ſonnes; he was ſuch a ſavage in his luſt, as nakedly to acknowledge his baſe children, and eſpecially this Ceſar Borgia, being like his Father in the ſwarthineſſe of the complexion of his ſoul.

His Father firſt made him a Cardinall, that thereby his ſhoulders might be enabled to bear as much Church-preferment as he could load upon him. But Borgia's active ſpirit diſliked the profeſsion, and was *aſhamed of the Goſpel*, which had more cauſe to be aſhamed of him; wherefore he quickly got a diſpenſation to uncardinall himſelf.

The next hindrance that troubled his high deſignes was, that his elder brother, the Duke of Candia, ſtood betwixt him and preferment. It is reported alſo that theſe two brothers juſtled together in their * inceſt with their own ſiſter Lucretia, one as famous for her whoredomes, as her nameſake had * formerly been for her chaſtity. The throne and the bed cannot ſeverally abide partners, much leſſe both meeting

* *Guicciard. Hiſtory of Italy lib. 1. pag. 10.*

* *Idem lib. 3. pag. 179.*

* *Liv. lib. 1.*

meeting together as here they did. Wherefore Ceſar Borgia took order, that his brother was kill'd one night as he rode alone in the city of Rome, and his body caſt into Tyber; and now he himſelf ſtood without competitour in his fathers and ſiſters affection.

His father was infinitely ambitious to advance him, as intending not onely to create him a Duke, but alſo to create a Dukedome for him, which ſeemed very difficult, if not impoſsible; for he could neither lengthen the land, nor leſſen the ſea in Italie; and petty Princes therein were already crouded ſo thick, there was not any room for any more. However, the Pope by fomenting the diſcords betwixt the French and Spaniſh about the kingdome of Naples, and by embroyling all the Italian States in civil diſſenſions, out of their breaches pick'd forth a large Principality for his ſonne, managed in this manner.

There is a fair and fruitfull Province in Italie, called Romania, parcelled into ſeverall States, all holding as feodaries from the Pope, but by ſmall penſions, and thoſe ſeldome paid. They were bound alſo not to ſerve in arms againſt the Church, which old tie they little regarded, and leſſe obſerved, as conceiving time had fretted it aſunder; ſouldiers generally more weighing his gold that entertaineth them, then the cauſe or enemy againſt whom they fight. Pope Alexander ſet his ſonne Borgia to reduce that countrey to the Churches juriſdiction, but indeed to ſubject it to his own abſolute hereditary Dominion. This in ſhort time he * effected, partly by the aſsiſtance of the French King, whoſe penſioner he was, (and by a French title made Duke Valentinois) and partly by the effectuall aid of the Urſines, a potent Family in Italie.

* *Guicciard. lib. 4. pag. 237.*

But afterward the Urſines too late were ſenſible of their errour herein, and grew ſuſpicious of his greatneſſe. For they in helping him to conquer ſo many petty States, gathered the ſeverall twigs, bound them into a rod, and put it into his hands to beat them therewith. Whereupon they began by degrees to withdraw their help, which Borgia perceived

ceived, and having by flattery and fair promiſes got the principall of their Family into his hands, he put them * all to the ſword. For he was perfect in the deviliſh art of dealing an ill turn, doing it ſo ſuddenly his enemies ſhould not heare of him before; and ſo ſoundly, that he ſhould never heare of them afterwards, either ſtriking alwayes ſurely, or not at all.

* *Machiavill in his Prince, cap. 7.*

And now he thought to caſt away his crutches, and ſtand on his own legs, rendring himſelf abſolute, without being beholden to the French King or any other: Having wholly conquer'd Romania, he caſt his eyes on Hetruria, and therein either wan to ſubmiſsion or compliance moſt of the cities, an earneſt of his future finall conqueſt, had not the unexpected death of his father Pope Alexander prevented him.

This Alexander with his ſonne Ceſar Borgia intended to poyſon ſome rich Cardinalls, to which purpoſe a flagon of poyſoned wine was prepared: But through the * errour of a ſervant, not privy to the project, the Pope himſelf and Borgia his ſonne drank thereof, which coſt the former his life, and the other a long languiſhing ſickneſſe.

* *Guicciard. l. 6. pag. 307.*

This Ceſar Borgia once bragg'd to Machiavill, that he had ſo cunningly contrived his plots, as to warrant himſelf againſt all events. If his father ſhould die firſt, he had made himſelf maſter of ſuch a way, that by the ſtrength of his party in the city of Rome, and conclave of Cardinalls, he could chuſe what Pope he pleaſed; ſo from him to get aſſurance of this province of Romania to make it hereditary to himſelf. And if (which was improbable) Nature ſhould croſſe her hands, ſo that he ſhould die before his father, yet even then he had chalked out ſuch a courſe, as would enſure his conqueſt to his poſterity: ſo that with this politick dilemma he thought himſelf able to diſpute againſt heaven it ſelf.

But (what he afterwards complained of) he never expected, that at the ſame time wherein his father ſhould die, he himſelf ſhould alſo lie deſperately ſick, diſenabled to

proſecute his deſignes, till one unexpected counterblaſt of Fortune, ruffled yea blew away all his projects ſo curiouſly plaited. Thus three aces chance often not to rub; and Politicians think themſelves to have ſtopp'd every ſmall cranny, when they have left a whole doore open, for divine providence to undo all which they have done.

The Cardinalls proceed to the choice of a new Pope, whileſt Borgia lay ſick abed, much bemoaning himſelf; for all others (had they the command of all April ſhowers) could not beſtow on drop of pity upon him. Pius the third was firſt choſen Pope, anſwering his name, being a devout man (ſuch black ſwans ſeldome ſwim in Tyber); but the chair of Peſtilence choked him within twenty ſix dayes, and in his room Julius was choſen, or rather his greatneſſe choſe himſelf, a ſworn enemy to Ceſar Borgia, who ſtill lay under the Phyſicians hands, and had no power to oppoſe the election, or to ſtrengthen his new-got Dukedome of Romania: the ſtate of his body was to be preferred before the body of his ſtate; and he lay ſtriving to keep life, not to make a Pope. Yea the operation of this poyſon, made him vomit up the Dukedome of Romania, which he had ſwallowed before; and whileſt he lay ſick, the States and cities therein recovered their own liberties formerly enjoyed.

Indeed this diſeaſe made Borgia loſe his nails, that he could never after ſcratch to do any miſchief; and being baniſhed Italie, he fled into Navarre, where he was obſcurely kill'd in a tumultuous inſurrection.

He was a man maſter in the art of diſſembling, never looking the ſame way he rowed; extremely luſtfull, never ſparing to tread hen and chickens. At the taking of Capua, where he aſsiſted the French, he reſerved * fourty of the faireſt Ladies to be abuſed by his own wantonneſſe. And the prodigality of his luſt, had long before his death, made him bankrupt of all the moyſture in his body, if his Phyſicians had not dayly repaired the decayes therein. He exactly knew the operations of all hot and cold poyſons,

* *Idem, lib. 5. pag. 260.*

poysons, which would surprise nature on a sudden, and which would weary it out with a long siege. He could contract a hundred toads into one drop, and cunningly infuse the same into any pleasant liquour, as the Italians have poysoning at their fingers ends. By a fig (*which restored Hezekiahs* * *life*) he took away the lives of many. In a word, if he was not a practicall Atheist, I know not who was.

* 2. Kings 20. 7.

If any desire to know more of his badnesse, let them reade Machiavills Prince, where Borgia is brought in as an * instance of all vilany. And though he deserves to be hiss'd out of Christendome, who will open his mouth in the defence of Machiavills precepts, yet some have dared to defend his person; so that he in his Book shews not what Princes should be, but what then they were; intending that work, not for a glasse for future Kings to dresse themselves by, but onely therein to present the monstrous face of the Politicians of that Age. Sure, he, who is a devil in this book, is a Saint * in all the rest; and those that knew him, * witnesse him to be of honest life and manners: so that that which hath sharpned the pens of many against him, is his giving so many cleanly wipes to the foul noses of the Pope and Italian Prelacy.

* Nunquam verebor in exemplum Valentinum subjicere, *Machiavel Prince, cap. 13. pag. 73.*

* *His notes on Livy, but especially his Florentine History favours of Religion.*

* *Boissardus part. 3. Icenum virorum illustrium.*

Chap. 8.

The Hypocrite.

BY *Hypocrite* we understand such a one as doth (Isaiah 32. 6. *practise hypocrisie*, make a trade or work of dissembling: For otherwise, * *Hypocriseorum macula carere, aut paucorum est, aut nullorum.* The best of Gods children have a smack of hypocrisie.

* *Hieronym. lib. 2. contra Pelag. & August in eadem verba. Serm. 59. de Tempore. Maxime 1*

An Hypocrite is himself both the archer and the mark, in all actions shooting at his own praise or profit. And therefore he doth all things that they may be seen: What with others is held a

principall point in Law, is his main Maxime in Divinity, To have good witneſſe. Even faſting it ſelf is meat and drink to him, whileſt others behold it.

2 *In the outſide of religion he out-ſhines a ſincere Chriſtian.* Guilt cups glitter more then thoſe of maſsie gold, which are ſeldome burniſh'd. Yea, well may the Hypocrite afford gaudy facing, who cares not for any lining; brave it in the ſhop, that hath nothing in the ware houſe. Nor is it a wonder if in outward ſervice he out-ſtrips Gods ſervants, who outdoeth Gods command by will-worſhip, giving God more then he requires; though not what moſt he requires, I mean, his heart.

3 *His vizard is commonly pluckt off in this world.* Sincerity is an entire thing in it ſelf: Hypocriſie conſiſts of ſeverall pieces cunningly cloſed together; and ſometimes the Hypocrite is ſmote (as Ahab with an arrow, 1. Kings 22. 34.) betwixt the joynts of his armour, and ſo is mortally wounded in his reputation. Now by theſe ſhrew'd ſignes a diſſembler is often diſcovered: Firſt, heavie cenſuring of others for light faults: ſecondly, boaſting of his own goodneſſe: thirdly, the unequall beating of his pulſe in matters of pieties hard, ſtrong and quick, in publick actions; weak, ſoft and dull, in private matters: fourthly, ſhrinking in perſecution; for painted faces cannot abide to come nigh the fire.

4 *Yet ſometimes he goes to the grave neither detected nor ſuſpected.* If Maſters in their art, and living in peaceable times, wherein pietie and proſperity do not fall out, but agree well together. Maud, mother to King Henry the ſecond, being beſieged in * Wincheſter caſtle, counterfeited her ſelf to be dead, and ſo was carried out in a coffin whereby ſhe eſcaped. Another time being beſieged at * Oxford in a cold winter, with wearing white apparell, ſhe got away in the ſnow undiſcovered. Thus ſome Hypocrites by diſſembling mortification, that they are dead to the world, and by profeſsing a ſnow-like purity in their converſations, eſcape all their life time undiſcerned by mortall eyes.

* *Cambd. Brit. in Hantſhire.*

* *Matth. Paris in Anno Dom. 1141.*

By

By long diſſembling piety, he deceives himſelf at laſt: Yea, he may grow ſo infatuated, as to conceive himſelf no diſſembler, but a ſincere Saint. A ſcholar was ſo poſſeſſed with his lively perſonating of King Richard the third, in a Colledg:-Comedy, that ever after he was tranſported with a royall humour in his large expences, vvhich brought him to beggary, though he had great preferment. Thus the Hypocrite by long acting the part of piety, at laſt believes himſelf really to be ſuch an one, vvhom at firſt he did but counterfeit. 5

God here knows, and hereafter will make Hypocrites known to the whole world. Ottocar King of Bohemia refuſed to do homage to Rodulphus the firſt, Emperour, till at laſt, chaſtiſed with vvarre, he vvas content to do him homage privately in a tent; vvhich tent vvas ſo contrived by the * Emperours ſervants, that by drawing one cord, it vvas all taken away, and ſo Ottocar preſented on his knees doing his homage, to the vievv of three Armies in preſence. Thus God at laſt ſhall uncaſe the cloſeſt diſſembler, to the ſight of men, angels, and devils, having removed all veils and pretences of piety: no goat in a ſheepskin ſhall ſteal on his right hand at the laſt day of judgement. 6

* *Pantaleon in vita Rodulph. Imperat. lib. de Illuſtrib. Germ. part. 2. 285.*

Chap. 9.

The life of Jehu.

JEhu the ſonne of Jehoſaphat, the ſonne of Nimſhi, vvas one of an active ſpirit, and therefore employed to confound the houſe of Ahab; for God, vvhen he means to ſhave clear, chooſes a razour with a ſharp edge, and never ſendeth a ſlug on a meſſage that requireth haſte.

A ſonne of the Prophets ſent by Eliſha privately anointed him King at Ramoth Gilead, vvhereupon he was proclaimed King by the conſent of the army. Surely God ſent alſo an inviſible meſſenger to the ſouls of his fellovv-

captains, and anointed their hearts with the oyl of Subjection, as he did Jehu's head with the oyl of Sovereignty.

Secrecie and celerity are the two wheels of great actions. Jehu had both: he marched to Jezreel faſter then Fame could flie, whoſe wings he had clipt by ſtopping all intelligence, that ſo at once he might be ſeen and felt of his enemies. In the way meeting with Jehoram and Ahaziah, he conjoyned them in their deaths, who conſorted together in idolatrie. The corps of Jehoram he orders to be caſt into Nabaoths vineyard, a garden of herbs royally dung'd, and watered with bloud.

Next he revengeth Gods Prophets on cruel Jezabell, whoſe wicked carcaſe was devoured by dogs to a ſmall reverſion, as if a head that plotted, and hands that practiſ'd ſo much miſchief, and feet ſo ſwift to ſhed bloud, were not meat good enough for dogs to eat. Then by a letter he commands the heads of Ahabs ſeventy ſonnes (their Guardians turning their executioners) whoſe heads being laid on two heaps at the gate of Jezreel ſerved for two ſoft pillows for Jehu to ſleep ſweetly upon, having all theſe corrivalls to the Crown taken away.

The Prieſts of Baal follow after. With a pretty wile he fetches them all into the temple of their Idole, where having ended their ſacrifice, they themſelves were ſacrificed. However I dare not acquit Jehu herein. In Holy Fraud I like the Chriſtian, but not the ſirname thereof, and wonder how any can marry theſe two together in the ſame action, ſeeing ſurely the parties were never agreed. This I dare ſay, Be it unjuſt in Jehu, it was juſt with God, that the worſhippers of a falſe God ſhould be deceived with a feigned worſhip.

Hitherto I like Jehu as well as Joſiah; his zeal blazed as much: But having now got the Crown, he diſcovers himſelf a diſſembling Hypocrite. It was an ill ſigne when he ſaid to Jonadab the ſonne of Rechab, *Come with me, and ſee my zeal for the Lord.* Bad inviting gueſts to feed their eyes on our goodneſſe. But Hypocrites rather then they will loſe a drop of praiſe, will lick it up with their own tongue.

Before,

Before, he had diſſembled with Baal, now he counterfeits with God. *He took no heed to walk in the way of the Lord God of Iſrael with all his heart*: formerly his ſword had two edges, one cut for Gods glory, the other for his own preferment. He that before drove ſo furiouſly, whileſt his private ends whipt on his horſes, now will not go a foot-pace in Gods commandments, *He departed not from the golden calves in Dan and Bethel.*

I know what Fleſh will object, that this State-ſinne Jehu muſt commit to maintain his kingdome: for the lions of gold did ſupport the throne of Solomon, but the calves of gold the throne of Jeroboam and his Succeſſours. Should he ſuffer his Subjects to go up to Jeruſalem *thrice a yeare* (as the Law * of Moſes commanded) this would un-King him in effect, as leaving him no able Subjects to command. And as one in the heathen Poet complains,

Tres ſumus imbelles numero, ſine viribus uxor,
Laertéſque ſenex, Telemachúſque puer.
Three weaklings we, a wife for warre too mild,
Laertes old, Telemachus a child.

So thrice a yeare ſhould Jehu onely be King over ſuch an impotent company of old men, women, and children. Beſides, it was to be feared that the ten Tribes going to Jeruſalem to worſhip, where they fetch'd their God, would alſo have their King.

But Faith will anſwer, that God that built Jehu's throne without hands, could ſupport it without buttreſſes, or being beholden to idolatry: And therefore herein Jehu, who would needs piece out Gods providence with his own carnall policie, was like a fooliſh greedy gameſter, who having all the game in his own hand, ſteals a needleſſe card to aſſure himſelf of winning the ſtake, and thereby loſes all. For this deep diver was drown'd in his own policie, and Hazael King of Syria was raiſed up by God to trouble and moleſt them. Yet God revvarded him vvith a leaſe of the Kingdome of foure ſucceſsive lives, who had he been ſincere vvould have aſſured him of a Crovvn here and hereafter.

* *Exod.* 34. 23.

Chap. 10.

The Heretick.

IT is very difficult accurately to define him. Amongſt the Heathen *Atheiſt* was, and amongſt Chriſtians *Heretick* is the diſgracefull word of courſe, alwayes caſt upon thoſe who diſſent from the predominant current of the time. Thus thoſe who in matters of opinion varied from the * Popes copie the leaſt hair-ſtroke, are condemned for Hereticks. Yea, Virgilius Biſhop of Saltzburg was branded with that cenſure, for maintaining that there were * Antipodes oppoſite to the then known world. It may be, as Alexander, hearing the Philoſophers diſpute of more worlds, wept that he had conquered no part of them; ſo it grieved the Pope that theſe Antipodes were not ſubject to his juriſdiction, which much incenſed his Holineſſe againſt that ſtrange opinion. We will branch the deſcription of an Heretick into theſe three parts.

* Hic videtur quòd omnis qui non obedit ſtatutis Romanæ ſedis ſit Hæreticus, *Gloſſa in C. nulli diſt.* 19. *in verbo* Proſtratus.

**Joh. Avent. lib.* 3. *Annal. Boior.*

1 He is one that formerly hath been of the true Church:

* 1. Joh. 2. 19. * *They went out from us, but they were not of us.* Theſe afterwards prove more offenſive to the Church then very Pagans; as the Engliſh-Iriſh, deſcended anciently of Engliſh Parentage (be it ſpoken with the more ſhame to them, and ſorrow to us) turning wild, become worſe enemies to our Nation then the Native Iriſh themſelves.

2 Maintaining a Fundamentall errour. Every ſcratch in the hand, is not a ſtab to the heart; nor doth every falſe opinion make a Heretick.

3 With obſtinacy. Which is the dead fleſh, making the green wound of an errour, feſter into the old ſore of an Hereſie.

Maxime 1 *It matters not much what manner of perſon he hath.* If beautifull, perchance the more attractive of feminine followers: If deformed, ſo that his body is as odde as his opinions, he

he is the more properly entitled to the reputation of *crooked Saint.*

His naturall parts are quick and able. Yet he that ſhall ride on a winged horſe to tell him thereof, ſhall but come too late, to bring him ſtale news of what he knew too well before. 2

Learning is neceſſary in him if he trades in a criticall errour: but if he onely broches dregs, and deals in ſome dull ſottiſh opinion, a trouell will ſerve as well as a pencill to daub on ſuch thick courſe colours. Yea, in ſome Hereſies deep ſtudying is ſo uſeleſſe, that the firſt thing they learn, is to inveigh againſt all learning. 3

However ſome ſmattering in the originall tongues will do well. On occaſion he will let flie whole vollies of Greek and Hebrew words, whereby he not onely amazeth his ignorant Auditours; but alſo in conferences daunteth many of his oppoſers, who (though in all other learning farre his ſuperiours) may perchance be conſcious of want of skill in thoſe languages, whileſt the Heretick hereby gains credit to his cauſe and perſon. 4

His behaviour is ſeemingly very pious and devout. How foul ſoever the poſtern and back-doore be, the gate opening to the ſtreet is ſwept and garniſhed, and his outſide adorned with pretended auſterity. 5

He is extremely proud and diſcontented with the times, quarrelling that many beneath him in piety, are above him in place. This pride hath cauſed many men, which otherwiſe might have been *ſhining lights*, prove ſmoaking firebrands in the Church. 6

Having firſt hammered the hereſie in himſelf, he then falls to ſeducing of others: ſo hard it is for one to have the itch, and not to ſcratch. Yea Babylon her ſelf will alledge, that *for Sions ſake ſhe will not hold her peace.* The neceſsity of propogating the truth is errours plea, to divulge her falſhoods. Men, as naturally they deſire to know, ſo they deſire what they know ſholud be known. 7

If challenged to a private diſpute, his impudence bears him out. He 8

He counts it the onely errour to confeſſe he hath erred. His face is of braſſe, which may be ſaid either ever or never to bluſh. In diſputing, his *Modus* is *ſine modo*; and, as if all figures (even in Logick) were magicall, he neglects all forms of reaſoning, counting that the onely Syllogiſme which is his concluſion.

9 *He ſlights any Synod if condemning his opinions*; eſteeming the deciſions thereof, no more then the forfeits in a barbers ſhop, where a Gentlemans pleaſure is all the obligation to pay, and none are bound except they will bind themſelves.

10 *Sometimes he comes to be put to death for his obſtinacy.* Indeed ſome charitable Divines have counted it inconſiſtent with the lenity of the Goſpel, which is to expect and endeavour the amendment of all, to put any to death for their falſe opinions; and we reade of S. Paul (though the Papiſts paint him alwayes with a ſword) that he onely came *with a rod.* However, the * mildeſt Authours allow, that the Magiſtrate may inflict capitall puniſhments on Hereticks, in caſes of

1 Sedition againſt the State wherein he lives. And indeed ſuch is the ſympathy betwixt Church and Commonwealth, that there are few Hereſies, except they be purely ſpeculative (and ſo I may ſay have heads without hands, or any practicall influence;) but in time the violent maintainers of them may make a dangerous impreſsion in the State.

2 Blaſphemy againſt God, and thoſe points of religion which are awfully to be believed.

For either of theſe our Heretick ſometimes willingly undergoes death, and then, in the Calender of his own conceit, he canonizeth himſelf for a Saint, yea, a Martyr.

* *Gerards Common-places de Magiſtrat. Polit. pag.* 1047.

CHAP. 11.

CHAP. II.

The rigid Donatists.

THe Donatists were so called from a double Donatus, whereof the one planted the sect, the other water'd it, and the devil by Gods permission gave the increase. The elder Donatus being one of tolerable parts, and intolerable pride, rais'd a Schisme in Carthage against good Cecilian the Bishop there, whom he loaded unjustly with many crimes, which he was not able to prove; and vexed with this disgrace, he thought to right his credit by wronging religion, and so began the * heresie of Donatists. *Anno Domini 321.*

His most dominative tenet was, that the Church was perished from the face of the earth, the reliques thereof onely remaining in his party. I instance the rather on this Heresie, because the reviving thereof is the new disease of our times. One * Vibius in Rome was so like unto Pompey, *ut permutato statu Pompeius in illo, & ille in Pompeio, salutari posset*: Thus the Anabaptists of our dayes, and such as are Anabaptistically inclin'd, in all particulars resemble the old Donatists, abating onely that difference which is necessarily required to make them alike.

The epithet of *rigid* I therefore do adde, to separate the Donatists from themselves, who separated themselves from all other Christians. For there were two principall sides of them: first, the Rogatists, from Rogatus their teacher, to whom S. Augustine beareth witnesse, that *they had zeal, but not according to knowledge*. These were pious people for their lives, hating bloudy practices, though erroneous in their doctrine. The learned * Fathers of that age, count them part of the true Church, and their brethren, though they themselves disclaim'd any such brotherhood with other Christians. Oh the sacred violence of such worthy mens charity, in plucking those to them which thrust themselves away! But there was another sort of Jesuited Donatists, as I may say, whom they called

* *Augustin. ad Quod vult Deum.*

* *Valer. Max. lib. 9. cap. 15.*

* Ipsum Fraternitatis nomen utcunque Donatistis fastidiosum, est tamen orthodoxis erga ipsos Donatistas necessarium, *Optat. lib. 3. init.*

called *Circumcellions*, though as little reaſon can be given of their * name as of their opinions, whom we principally intend at this time.

* *S. Auguſt. in Pſal. 132. quia circum cellas vagantur, count them ſo called; which is rather his Alluſion then the true Etymologie.*

Their number in ſhort time grew not onely to be conſiderable, but terrible: their tenet was plauſible and winning; and that Faith is eaſily wrought which teacheth men to believe well of themſelves. From Numidia, where they began, they overſpread Africa, Spain, France, Italie, and Rome it ſelf. We find not any it Brittain, where * Pelagianiſme mightily reigned: either becauſe God in his goodneſſe would not have one countrey at the ſame time viſited with a double plague; or elſe becauſe this infection was to come to this Iland in after-ages, furbiſhed up under a new name.

* *Sr H. Spelman Councells, pag. 446.*

Their greateſt increaſe was under Julian the Emperour. This Apoſtate, next to no religion, loved the worſt religion beſt, and was a profeſſ'd friend to all foes of goodneſſe. The Donatiſts, being puniſhed under former Chriſtian Emperours, repaired to him for ſuccour, not caring whether it was an Olive or a Bramble they fled to, ſo be it afforded them ſhelter. They extoll'd him for ſuch a godly man (flattery and falſe doctrine go ever together) *with whom alone* * *juſtice did remain*; and he reſtored them their good Churches again, and armed them with many priviledges againſt Chriſtians. Hereupon they raiſed a cruell perſecution, killing many men in the very Churches, murthering women and infants, defiling virgins, or raviſhing them rather, for conſent onely defiles. God keep us from ſtanding in the way where blind zeal is to paſſe, for it will trample down all before it, and mercy ſhall as ſoon be found at the hands of prevailing cowards. What the Anabaptiſts did in Germany, we know; what they would do here, had they power, God knows. The beſt ſecurity we have they will do no harm, is becauſe they cannot.

* *Quòd apud eum ſolum juſtitia locum haberet*, Aug. contra literas Petil. lib. 2. cap. 97.

We come to ſet down ſome of their principall opinions: I ſay, Principall; for at laſt they did enterfere with all Hereticks, Arians, Macedonians, &c. ignorant zeal is too blind to go right, and too active to ſtand ſtill: yea all errours are of

of kinne, at the fartheſt but couſens once removed; and when men have once left the truth, their onely quiet home, they will take up their lodging under any opinion, which hath the leaſt ſhadow of probability. We will alſo ſet down ſome of their reaſons, and how they torture Scripture with violent interpretations, to wreſt from it a confeſsion on their ſide, yet all in vain.

Firſt Poſition.

That the true Church was periſhed from the face of the earth, the remnants thereof being onely *in parte Donati*, in that * part of Africa where Donatus and his followers were. The Anabaptiſts in like manner ſtifle Gods Church by crowding it into their corner, confining the monarchy of Chriſt in the Goſpel, unto their own toparchy, and having a quarrell to the words in the Creed, *Catholique Church*.

* *Auguſt. l. 2. contra Creſcon. cap. 37.*

The Donatiſts Reaſons.

It is ſaid, Canticles 1. 7. *Tell me, O thou whom my ſoul loveth, where thou feedeſt, where thou makeſt thy flocks to reſt in the South.* By this the Donatiſts are meant: Africa wherein they lived was in the South.

Confutation.

An argument drawn from an * allegorie is weak, except all the obſcurities therein be firſt explained. Beſides, Africa Ceſarienſis (where the Donatiſts were) was much more Weſt then South from Judea. But Gods Church cannot be contracted to the Chapel of Donatus, to which God himſelf (the trueſt ſurveyour) alloweth larger bounds, Pſalm. 2. 8. *Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermoſt parts of the earth for thy poſſeſsion.* Now the reſtrainers of the Church to a ſmall place (as much as in them lies) falſifie Gods promiſe, and ſhorten Chriſts portion. Many other * places ſpeak the large extent of the Goſpel, *Gen.* 22. 17. *Gen.* 28. 14. *Pſal.* 72. 8. &c.

* Quis non impudentiſſime nitatur aliquid in allegoria poſitum pro ſe interpretari, niſi habeat & manifeſta teſtimonia quorum lumine illuſtrentur obſcura, *Aug. Tom.* 2. *Epiſt.* 48. *ad Vincent.*

* *Optat. Milev. lib.* 2 *& Aug. contra Liter. Petil. cap.* 6, 7, 8.

Second Poſition.

That their Church conſiſted of an holy company, pure and undefiled indeed. Thus alſo the Anabaptiſts brag of their holineſſe, as if nothing elſe were required to make men

pure, but a conceit that they are ſo. Sure had they no other fault but want of charity, their hands could not be clean, who throw ſo much dirt on other mens faces.

Reaſons.

It is ſaid, Epheſ. 5. 27. *That Chriſt might preſent to himſelf a glorious Church, without ſpot, or wrinkle, or any ſuch thing, but that it ſhould be holy, and without blemiſh* : which the Donatiſts appropriate to themſelves.

Confutation.

This glorious preſentation of the Church is * performed in the world to come. Here it conſiſteth of ſinners (who had rather confeſſe their wrinkles, then paint them) and had need no pray dayly, *And forgive us our treſpaſſes.*

* *Aug. ut priùs ad Vincentium, & epiſt. 50. ad Boniſac.*

Third Poſition.

That mixt Communions were infectious, and the pious promiſcuouſly receiving with the profane, are polluted thereby. Heare the Anabaptizing ſing the ſame note, *By * profane and ignorant perſons coming to the Lords table, others alſo that communicate with them, are guilty of the ſame profanation.*

* *Proteſtation proteſted, pag.* 14.

Reaſons.

Becauſe ſeverall places of Scripture commend, yea command, a ſeparation from them. Jerem. 15. 19. *Take forth the pretious from the vile.* 2. Cor. 6. 17. *Be ye ſeparate, and touch no unclean thing.* 2. Theſſ. 3. 6. *Withdraw your ſelves from every brother that walketh diſorderly.* 1. Cor. 5. 7. *Purge out therefore the old leven,* &c.

Confutation.

In theſe and the like places two things are enjoyned: firſt, a ſeparation from intimate familiarity with profane perſons; ſecondly, a ſeparation from their vices and wickedneſſe, by deteſting and diſclaiming them: but neither civill State-ſociety, nor publick Church-communion, is hereby prohibited. By *purging out the old leven,* Church-cenſures are meant, to excommunicate the openly profane. But that mixt Communions pollute not, appears, becauſe S. Paul ſaith, 1. Cor. 11. 28. *But let a man examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of that bread,* &c. but enjoyns not men to examine others; which was neceſſary

neceſſary if bad Communicants did defile. It neither makes the cheer or welcome the worſe, to ſit next to him at Gods table, who wants a wedding-garment; for he that touches his perſon, but diſclaims his practices, is as farre from him, as the Eaſt from the Weſt, yea as heaven from hell. In bodily diſeaſes one may be infected without his knowledge, againſt his will: not ſo in ſpirituall contagions, where * *acceditur ad vitium corruptionis vitio conſenſionis*, and none can be infected againſt their conſent.

Auguſt. contr. Don. poſt Coll. Lib.

Fourth Poſition.

That the godly were bound to ſever from the ſociety of the wicked, and not to keep any communion with them. Thus the moſt rigid of modern Factours for the Independent congregations, would draw their files out of the army of our Nationall Church, and ſet up a congregation wherein Chriſt ſhall reigne in Beautie and Puritie. But they may flie ſo far from myſticall Babylon, as to run to literall Babel, I mean bring all to confuſion, and founder the Commonwealth: For they that ſtride ſo wide at once, will go farre with few paces.

Reaſon.

Becauſe it is written, 2. Cor. 6. 14. *What* * *communion hath light with darkneſſe?* and in other places, to the ſame effect.

* *Aug. lib. 2. contra Petill. cap. 39.*

Confutation.

The anſwer is the ſame with the former: But the tares ſhall grow with the corn. And in the viſible militant Church and kingdome of grace, that wicked men ſhall be unſeparablie mingled with the godly, beſides our Saviours teſtimonie, *Matth.* 13. 30. theſe reaſons do approve: firſt, becauſe Hypocrites can never be ſevered, but by him that can ſearch the heart; ſecondly, becauſe if men ſhould make the ſeparation, weak Chriſtians would be counted no Chriſtians, and thoſe who have a grain of grace under a load of imperfections, would be counted reprobates; thirdly, becauſe Gods veſſells of honour from all eternitie, not as yet appearing, but wallowing in ſinne, would be made caſtawayes; fourthly, becauſe God by the mixture of the wicked with

the godly, will try the watchfulneſſe and patience of his ſervants; fifthly, becauſe thereby he will beſtow many favours on the wicked, to clear his juſtice, and render them the more inexcuſable: laſtly, becauſe the mixture of the wicked, grieving the godly, will make them the more heartily pray for the day of judgement. The deſire of furure glory makes the godly to cry, *Come Lord Jeſus*; but the feeling of preſent pain (whereof they are moſt ſenſible) cauſeth the ingemination, *Come Lord Jeſus, come quickly.* In a word, as it is wholſome for a flock of ſheep for ſome goats to feed amongſt them, their bad ſent being good Phyſick for the ſheep to keep them from the *Shakings*; ſo much profit redounds to the godly by the neceſſary mixture of the wicked amongſt them, making the pious to ſtick the faſter to God and goodneſſe.

Fifth Poſition.

* *Aug. lib. 1. contra liter. Petil. cap. 1.*

That * the efficacie of the Sacrament depends on the piety of the Miniſter; ſo that in effect, his piety waſheth the water in baptiſme, and ſanctifieth it; whereas the profaneneſſe of a bad man adminiſtring it, doth unſacrament baptiſme it ſelf, making a nullity thereof. Herein the Anabaptiſts joyn hands with them, as 'tis generally known by their re-baptizing: Yea * ſome tending that way have maintained, that Sacraments received from ignorant and unpreaching Miniſters, are of no validity.

* *J. Penry pag. 46. and 49.*

Reaſon.

It is written, Matth. 7. 18. *A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.*

Confutation.

This is true of mens perſonall, but not of their miniſteriall acts: that Miniſter that can adde the word * of inſtitution to the element, makes a ſufficient Sacrament: And Sacraments, like to ſhelmeats, may be eaten after fowl hands, without any harm. *Cum * obſint indignè tractantibus, proſint tamen dignè ſumentibus.* Yet God make all Miniſters pious, painfull, and able: we, if beholding the preſent age, may juſtly bemoan their want, who remembring the former age, muſt as juſtly admire their plentie.

* *Aug. tract. 80. in Johan.*

* *Idem contra Parmen. lib. 2. cap. 10.*

Sixth

Sixth Poſition.

That all learning and * eloquence was to be condemn'd. Late Sectariſts go farther: Greenwood and Barrow * moved Queen Elizabeth to aboliſh both Univerſities,

Which we believe and wiſh may then be done,
When all blear eyes have quite put out the ſunne.

* *Idem. lib. 1. contra Creſco. cap. 30.*
* *Dr Soame writing againſt them, lib. 2. pag. 4.*

Reaſon.

Becauſe learning hath been the cauſe of many Hereſies, and diſcords in the Church.

Confutation.

Not learning, but the conceit thereof in thoſe that wanted it, and the abuſe thereof in ſuch as had it, cauſed Hereticks.

Seventh Poſition.

That Magiſtrates have no power to compell people to ſerve God by outward puniſhment: which is alſo the diſtill'd poſition of our Anabaptiſts, thus blinding the Miniſters, and binding the Magiſtrate, what work do they make?

Reaſon.

Becauſe it is a breach of the * liberty of the creature: The King of heaven gave not men freewill, for the Kings of the earth to take it away from them.

* *Auguſt. lib. 3. cont. Creſcon. cap. 51.*

Confutation.

God gave men freewill to uſe it well; if they abuſe it, God gave Magiſtrates power to puniſh them, elſe they *bear the ſword in vain.* They may command people to ſerve God, who herein have no cauſe to complain; better *to be compell'd to a feaſt*, Luke 14. 23. then to runne to a fray. But theſe men who would not have Magiſtrates compell them, *quære* whether if they had power they would not compell Magiſtrates.

The Donatiſts alſo did mightily boaſt of miracles and viſions: they made nothing to ſtep into the third heaven, and have familiar * dialogues with God himſelf: they uſed alſo to cite their revelations as arguments for their opinions; we will truſt the coppy of ſuch their viſions to be true, when we ſee the originall produc'd: herein the Anabaptiſts

* Donatus oravit, reſpondet ei Deus de cœlo, *Aug. in Johann. tract. 3. prope finem.*

come not behind them. Strange was the Donatiſts ambition of Martyrdome; they uſed to force ſuch as they met to wound them mortally, or violently to ſtab and kill them; and on purpoſe to fall down from * ſteep mountains, which one day may wiſh the mountains to fall on them. For Martyrs are to die willingly, but not wilfully; and though to die be a debt due to nature, yet he that payes it before the time, may be called upon for repayment to die the ſecond death.

* *Theodoretus in fabulis Hæret.*

Once many Donatiſts met a noble * Gentleman, and gave him a ſword into his hand, commanding him to kill them, or threatning to kill him. Yet he refuſ'd to do it, unleſſe firſt they would ſuffer him to bind them all; for fear, ſaid he, that when I have kill'd one or two of you, the reſt alter their minds and fall upon me. Having faſt bound them all, he ſoundly whipt them, and ſo let them alone. Herein he ſhewed more wit then they wanted, and more charity then wit, denying them their deſires, and giving them their deſerts, ſeeking to make true Saints by marring of falſe Martyrs.

* *Centuriator. cent. 4. c. 5. p. 211. ex Theodoreto.*

Theſe Donatiſts were oppoſed by the learned writings of private Fathers, Optatus Milevitanus, and S. Auguſtine (no Hereſie could bud out, but preſently his pruning-hook was at it) and by whole Councells, one at Carthage, another at Arles. But the Donatiſts, whileſt bleſsing themſelves, cared not for the Churches Anathema's, being ſo farre from fearing her excommunications, that they prevented them in firſt excommunicating themſelves by ſeparation; and they count it a kindneſſe to be ſhut out, who would willingly be gone.

Beſides, they called at * Carthage an Anti-councell of their own faction, conſiſting of two hundred ſeventy Biſhops, to confirm their opinions. Let Truth never challenge Errour at the weapon of number alone, without other arguments; for ſome Orthodox Councells have had fewer ſuffrages in them, then this Donatiſticall conventicle; and we may ſee ſmall Pocket-Bibles, and a great Folio-Alchoran.

* *Aug. Epiſt. ad Vincentium.*

But that which put the period to this Hereſie (for after the ſix hundreth yeare of Chriſt, the Donatiſt appears not, *I looked*

looked after his place and he was not to be found) was partly their own diſſenſions, for they * crumbled into ſeverall diviſions amongſt themſelves: Beſides the honeſt Rogatiſts (of whom before) they had ſeverall ſects, ſome more, ſome leſſe ſtrict, called from their ſeverall maſters, Creſconians, * Petilians, Ticonians, Parmenians, Maximians, &c. which much differed amongſt themſelves. Thus is it given to all Hereſies to break out into under-factions, ſtill going further in their tenets; and ſuch as take themſelves to be twice-refined, will count all others to be but droſſe, till there be as many Hereſies as Hereticks; like the Ammonites, ſo ſcattered by Saul, 1. Sam. 11. 11. *that there remained not two of them which were together.*

* *In minutula frustula, Idem.*

* *Petilian went not so farre as the rest, Aug. lib. 3. de correct. Donati c. 17. 19. Vid. Aug. de schism. Maxim. brevi. collat. 3. diei.*

But chiefly they were ſuppreſſed by the civil Magiſtrate (Moſes will do more with a frown, then Aaron with a blow, I mean with Church-cenſures) for * Honorius the godly Emperour (with his arm above a thouſand miles long) eaſily reach'd them in Europe, Aſia, and Africa, and by puniſhments mixt with the Churches inſtructions, converted and reclaimed very many.

* *He caused the Patent of priviledge which Julian granted the Donatists,* publicis locis affigendum in ludibrium: *vide Baron. in Anno 362. num. 264.*

In ſuch a caſe teaching without puniſhment had done little good, and puniſhment without teaching would have done much harm; both mingled together, by Gods bleſſing, cauſed the converſion of many, and finall ſuppreſsion of that Hereſie.

The ſame God of his goodneſſe grant, that by the ſame means ſuch as revive this Hereſie nowadayes, may have their eyes opened and their mouthes ſtopp'd, their pride leſſe and their knowledge more, that thoſe may be ſtayed which are going, and thoſe brought back which are gone into their dangerous opinions. For if the angels in heaven rejoyce at the converſion of a ſinner, none but devils and men deviliſhly minded will be ſorrowfull thereat.

Chap. 12.

The Lyer

IS one that makes a trade to tell falſhoods with intent to deceive. He is either open or ſecret. A ſecret Lyer or Equivocatour is ſuch a one, as by mentall reſervations and other tricks deceives him to whom he ſpeaks, being lawfully called to deliver all the truth: And ſure ſpeech being but a copy of the heart, it cannot be avouched for a true copy, that hath leſſe in it then the originall. Hence it often comes to paſſe,

When Jeſuites unto us anſwer Nay,
They do not Engliſh ſpeak, t'is Greek they ſay.

Such an Equivocatour we leave, more needing a Book then Character to deſcribe him. The open Lyer is firſt, either Miſchievous, condemn'd by all; ſecondly, Officious, unlawfull alſo, becauſe doing ill for good to come of it; thirdly, Jeſting, when in ſport and merriment. And though ſome count a Jeſting lie to be like the dirt of oyſters, which (they ſay) never ſtains, yet is it a ſinne in earneſt. What Policie is it for one to wound himſelf to tickle others, and to ſtab his own ſoul to make the ſtanders by ſport? We come to deſcribe the Lyer.

Maxime 1 *At firſt he tells a lie with ſome ſhame and reluctancy.* For then if he cuts off but a lap of Truths garment his heart ſmites him; but in proceſſe of time he conquers his Conſcience, and from quenching it there ariſeth a ſmoak which ſoots and fouls his ſoul, ſo that afterwards he lyes without any regret.

2 *Having made one lye, he is fain to make more to maintain it.* For an untruth wanting a firm foundation, needs many butreſſes. The honour and happineſſe of the * Iſraelites, is the miſery and miſchief of lyes, *Not one amongſt them ſhall be barren*, but miraculouſly procreative to beget others.

* *Deut.* 7.14.

3 *He hath a good memory which he badly abuſeth.* Memory in a Lyer

Lyer is no more then needs. For firſt, lies are hard to be remembred, becauſe many, whereas truth is but one: ſecondly, becauſe a lie curſorily told, takes little footing and ſettled faſtneſſe in the tellers memory, but prints it ſelf deeper in the hearers, who take the greater notice, becauſe of the improbability and deformity thereof; and one will remember the ſight of a monſter, longer then the ſight of an handſome body. Hence comes it to paſſe, that when the Lyer hath forgotten himſelf, his Auditours put him in mind of the lye, and take him therein.

4 *Sometimes though his memory cannot help him from being arreſted for lying, his wit reſcues him*: which needs a long reach to bring all ends preſently and probably together, gluing the ſplinters of his tales ſo cunningly that the cracks cannot be perceived. Thus a relique-monger bragg'd, he could ſhew a feather of the dove at Chriſts baptiſme; but being to ſhew it to the people, a wag had ſtollen away the feather, and put a coal in the room of it. *Well,* quoth he to the Spectatours, *I cannot be ſo good as my word for the preſent; but here is one of the coals* that broil'd S. Laurence, and that's worth the ſeeing.*

* *Chemnitius in exam. conc. Trident. part. 4. pag. 12.*

5 *Being challenged for telling a lye, no man is more furiouſly angry.* Then he draws his ſword and threatens, becauſe he thinks that an offer of revenge, to ſhew himſelf moved at the accuſation, doth in ſome ſort diſcharge him of the imputation; as if the condemning of the ſinne in appearance acquitted him in effect: or elſe becauſe he that is call'd a Lyer to his face, is alſo call'd a Coward in the ſame breath, if he ſwallows it; and the party charged doth conceive that if he vindicates his valour, his truth will be given him into the bargain.

6 *At laſt he believes his own lies to be true.* He hath told them over and over ſo often, that preſcription makes a right, and he verily believes that at the firſt he gathered the ſtory out of ſome authenticall Authour, which onely grew in his own brain.

7 *No man elſe believes him when he ſpeakes the truth.* How much gold ſoever he hath in his cheſt, his word is but braſſe,

braſſe, and paſſeth for nothing: yea he is dumb in effect, for it is all one whether one cannot ſpeak, or cannot be believed.

To conclude: Some of the weſt Indians to expiate their ſinne of lying, uſe to let themſelves bloud in their tongues, and to offer the bloud to their idols: A good cure for the ſquinancie, but no ſatisfaction for lying. Gods word hath taught us better, *What profit is there in my bloud?* The true repentance of the party waſh'd in the bloud of Chriſt, can onely obtain pardon for this ſinne.

Chap. 13.

The common Barreter.

A Barreter is an horſeleach that onely ſucks the corrupted bloud of the Law. He trades onely in tricks and quirks: His highway is in by-paths, and he loveth a cavill better then an argument, an evaſion then an anſwer. There be two kinds of them: either ſuch as fight themſelves, or are trumpeters in a battel to ſet on others. The former is a profeſt dueller in the Law, that will challenge any, and in all ſuite-combats be either principall or ſecond.

Maxime 1 *References and compoſitions he hates as bad as an hangman hates a pardon.* Had he been a Scholar, he would have maintained all paradoxes; if a Chirurgion, he would never have cured a wound, but alwayes kept it raw; if a Souldier, he would have been excellent at a ſiege, nothing but *ejectio firma* would out him.

2 *He is half ſtarv'd in the lent of a long vacation for want of imployment*; ſave onely that then he brews work to broach in Term-time. I find one ſo much delighted in Law-ſport, that when * Lewis the King of France offered to eaſe him of a number of ſuits, he earneſtly beſought his Highneſſe to leave him ſome twenty or thirty behind, wherewith he might merrily paſſe away the time.

* *Stephens Apol. for Herodotus.*

He

He hath this property of an honeſt man, that his Word is as good as his band; for he will pick the lock of the ſtrongeſt conveiance, or creep out at the lattice of a word. Wherefore, he counts to enter common with others, as good as his own ſeverall: for he will ſo vex his partners, that they had rather forgo their right, then undergo a ſuit with him. As for the trumpeter Barretour, 3

He falls in with all his neighbours that fall out, and ſpurres them on to go to law. A Gentleman, who in a duell was rather ſcratcht then wounded, ſent for a Chirurgion, who having opened the wound, charged his man with all ſpeed to fetch ſuch a ſalve from ſuch a place in his ſtudy. *Why* (ſaid the Gentleman) *is the hurt ſo dangerous? Oh yes* (anſwered the Chirurgion) *if he returns not in poſt-haſt, the Wound will cure it ſelf, and ſo I ſhall loſe my fee.* Thus the Barretour poſts to the houſes of his neighbours, leſt the ſparks of their ſmall diſcords ſhould go out before he brings them fuell, and ſo he be broken by their making up. Surely he loves not to have the bells rung in a peal, but he likes it rather when they are jangled backward, himſelf having kindled the fire of diſſenſion amongſt his neighbours. 4

He lives till his clothes have as many rents as himſelf hath made diſſenſions. I wonder any ſhould be of this trade, when none ever thrived on't, paying dear rates for their counſells: for bringing many crack'd titles, they are fain to fill up their gaping chinks with the more gold. 5

But I have done with this wrangling companion, half afraid to meddle with him any longer, leſt he ſhould commence a ſuit againſt me for deſcribing him.

The Reader may eaſily perceive, how this Book of the Profane State would ſwell to a great proportion, ſhould we therein character all the kinds of vicious perſons which ſtand in oppoſition to thoſe which are good. But this pains may well be ſpared, ſeeing that *rectum eſt index ſui & obliqui*; and the luſtre of the good formerly deſcribed, will ſufficiently diſcover the enormity of thoſe which are otherwiſe. We will therefore inſtance in three principall offenders, and ſo conclude.

CHAP. 14.

Chap. 14.

The Degenerous Gentleman.

SOme will chalenge this title of incongruity, as if thoſe two words were ſo diſſonant, that a whole ſentence cannot hold them; for ſure where the Gentleman is the root, Degenerous cannot be the fruit. But if any quarrell with my words, Valerius Maximus ſhall be my champion, who ſtyleth ſuch, * *Nobilia Portenta.* By *Gentleman* we underſtand one whom the Heralds (except they will deny their beſt Records) muſt allow of ancient parentage. Such a one, when a child, being kept the devils Nazarite, that no razor of correction muſt come npon his head in his fathers family, ſee what he proves in the proceſſe of time, brought to extreme poverty. Herein we intend no invective glance on thoſe pious Gentlemen, whoſe ſtates are conſumed through Gods ſecret judgement, and none of the owners viſible default; onely we meddle with ſuch, as by careleſneſſe and riot cauſe their own ruine.

* *Valer. Max. lib. 3. cap. 5.*

Maxime 1 *He goes to ſchool to learn in jeſt, and play in earneſt.* Now this Gentleman, now that Gentlewoman beggs him a play-day, and now the book muſt be thrown away, that he may ſee the buck hunted. He comes to ſchool late, departs ſoon, and the whole yeare with him (like the fortnight when Chriſtmas day falls on a tueſday) is all Holidayes and half-Holidayes. And as the Poets feigne of Thetis, that ſhe drench'd Achilles her ſonne in the Stygian waters, that he might not be wounded with any weapon; ſo cockering mothers inchant their ſonnes to make them rod-free, which they do by making ſome golden circles in the hand of the Schoolmaſter: thus theſe two conjoyning together, make the indentures to bind the youth to eternall ignorance; yet perchance he may get ſome almes of learning, here a ſnap, there a piece of knowledge, but nothing to purpoſe.

2 *His fathers Servingmen (which he counts no mean preferment) admit*

admit him into their ſociety. Going to a drinking match, they carry him with them to enter him, and applaud his hopefulneſſe, finding him vicious beyond his age. The Butler makes him free (having firſt pai'd his fees accuſtomed) of his own fathers cellar, and gueſſeth the profoundneſſe of his young maſters capacity, by the depth of the whole-ones he fetcheth off.

Coming to the Univerſity, his chief ſtudy is to ſtudy nothing. What 3
is Learning but a cloakbag of books, cumberſome for a Gentleman to carry? and the Muſes fit to make wives for Farmers ſonnes: perchance his own Tutour, for the promiſe of the next living (which notwithſtanding his promiſe he afterwards ſells to another) contributes to his undoing, letting him live as he liſt: yea, perhaps his own mother (whileſt his father diets him for his health with a moderate allowance) makes him ſurfet underhand, by ſending him money. Thus whileſt ſome complain that the Univerſity infected him, he infected the Univerſitie, from which he ſuck'd no milk, but poyſoned her nipples.

At the Innes of Court under pretence to learn Law, he learns to be 4
lawleſſe; not knowing by his ſtudy ſo much as what an Execution means, till he learns it by his own dear experience. Here he grows acquainted with the *Roaring Boyes*, I am afraid ſo called by a wofull Prolepſis, Here, for Hereafter. What formerly was counted the chief credit of an Oratour, theſe eſteem the honour of a Swearer, *Pronunciation*, to mouth an oath with a graceleſſe grace. Theſe (as David ſaith) *cloath themſelves with curſes as with a garment*, and therefore deſire to be in the lateſt faſhion both in their cloaths and curſes: Theſe infuſe all their skill into their young novice, who ſhortly proves ſuch a proficient, that he exceeds his Maſters in all kinds of vicious courſes.

Through the mediation of a Scrivener, he grows acquainted with 5
ſome great Uſurer. Nor is this youngſter ſo ravenous, as the other is ready to feed him with money, ſometimes with a courteous violence forcing on him more then he deſires, provided the ſecurity be good, except the Uſurer be ſo valiant

as to hazard the loſing of a ſmall hook to catch a great fiſh, and will adventure to truſt him, if his eſtate in hope be over-meaſure, though he himſelf be under age. Now the greater part of the money he takes up is not for his own ſpending, but to pay the ſhot of other mens riot.

6 *After his fathers death he flies out more then ever before.* Formerly he took care for means for his ſpending, now he takes care for ſpending for his means. His wealth is ſo deep a gulf, no riot can ever ſound the bottome of it. To make his gueſts drunk is the onely ſeal of their welcome. His very meaneſt ſervant may be maſter of the cellar, and thoſe who deſerve no beere may command the beſt wine: ſuch dancing by day, ſuch masking by night, ſuch roaring, ſuch revelling, able to awake the ſleeping aſhes of his Great-great-grandfather, and to fright all bleſsing from his houſe.

7 *Mean time the old ſoare of his London-debts corrupts and feſters.* He is careleſſe to take out the dead fleſh, or to diſcharge either principall or intereſt. Such ſmall leaks are not worth the ſtopping or ſearching for till they be greater; he ſhould undervalue himſelf to pay a ſumme before it grew conſiderable for a man of his eſtate. Nor can he be more careleſſe to pay, then the Uſurer is willing to continue the debt, knowing that his bands, like infants, battle beſt with ſleeping.

8 *Vacation is his vocation, and he ſcorns to follow any profeſsion*; and will not be confin'd to any laudable employment. But they who count a calling a priſon, ſhall at laſt make a priſon their calling. He inſtills alſo his lazie principles into his children, being of the ſame opinion with the Neapolitane Gentry, who ſtand ſo on the * puntoes of their honour, that they preferre robbery before induſtry, and will rather ſuffer their daughter to make merchandiſe of her chaſtity, then marry the richeſt merchant.

* *Sr. William Segar in his Honours milit. and civill.*

9 *Drinking is one of the principall Liberall Sciences he profeſſeth.* A moſt ungentile quality, fit to be baniſhed to rogues and rags. It was anciently counted a Dutch vice, and ſwarmed moſt in that countrey. I remember a ſad accident which hapned to Fliolmus King of Gothland, who whileſt a Lord of

of misrule ruled in his Court, and both he and his servants were drunk, in mere merriment, meaning no harm, they took the King, and put him in* jest into a great vessel of beere, and drowned him in earnest. But * one tells us that this ancient and habited vice is amongst the Dutch of late years much decreased: which if it be not, would it were. Sure our Mariners observe that as the sea grows dayly shallower and shallower on the shoars of Holland and Zeland, so the channell of late waxeth deeper on the coasts of Kent and Essex. I pray God if drunkennesse ebbes in Dutchland, it doth not flow in England, and gain not in the Iland what it loseth in the Continent. Yea some plead, when overwhelm'd with liquour, that their thirst is but quenched: as well may they say, that in Noahs floud the dust was but sufficienly allayed.

* *Olaus mag. Hist. septent. pag.* 533.
* *Verstig. restitut. of decaid inteling. pag.* 53.

Gaming is another art he studies much: an enticing witch, that hath caused the ruine of many. * Hannibal said of Marcellus, that *nec bonam nec malam fortunam ferre potest*, he could be quiet neither conquerour nor conquered; thus such is the itch of play, that Gamesters neither winning nor losing can rest contented. One propounded this question, Whether men in ships on sea were to be accounted among the living or the dead, because there were but few inches betwixt them and drowning. The same scruple may be made of great Gamesters, though their estates be never so great, whether they are to be esteemed poore or rich, there being but a few casts at dice betwixt a Gentleman (in great game) and a begger. Our Gallant games deeply, and makes no doubt in conscience to adventure Advousands, Patronages, and Church-livings in gaming. He might call to mind S[r] Miles Pateridge, who (as the Souldiers cast lots for Christ his coat) plaid at dice for * Jesus bells with King Henry the eighth, and wonne them of him. Thus he brought the bells to ring in his pocket, but the ropes afterwards catch'd about his neck, and for some offenses he was hang'd in the dayes of King Edward the sixth.

10

* *Liv. lib.* 27.

* *These were foure bells the greatest in London, hanging in a fair Tower in Pauls Church-yard, Stowes Survey of London, pag.* 357.

Then first he sells the outworks of his state, some stragling man-

11

nour. Nor is he ſenſible of this ſale, which makes his means more entire, as counting the gathering of ſuch ſcattering rents rather burdenſome then profitable. This he ſells at half the value, ſo that the feathers will buy the gooſe, and the wood will pay for the ground: with this money if he ſtops the hole to one Creditour, by his prodigality he preſently opens a wider gappe to another.

12 *By this time the long dormant Uſurer ramps for the payment of his money*. The principall, the grandmother; and the Uſe, the daughter, and the Uſe upon uſe, the grandchild; and perchance a generation farther, hath ſwell'd the debt to an incredible ſumme, for the ſatisfying whereof our Gallant ſells the moity of his eſtate.

13 *Having ſold half his land, he abates nothing of his expenſes*: but thinks five hundred pounds a yeare will be enough to maintain that, for which a thouſand pound was too little. He will not ſtoop till he falls, nor leſſen his kennell of dogs, till with Acteon he be eaten up with his own hounds.

14 *Being about to ſink, he catcheth at every ruſh to ſave himſelf*. Perchance ſometimes he ſnatcheth at the thiſtle of a project, which firſt pricks his hands, and then breaks. Herein it may be he adventured on a matter wherein he had no skill, himſelf (hoping by letting the Common wealth bloud, to fill up his own veins again) and therefore trades with his partners brains, as his partner with his purſe, till both miſcarry together: or elſe it may be he catcheth hold on the heel of another man, who is in as dangerous a caſe as himſelf, and they embracing each other in mutuall bands, haſten their drowning together. His laſt mannour he ſells twice, to a countrey-Gentleman, and a London-uſurer, though the laſt, as having the firſt title, prevails to poſſeſſe it: Uſurers herein being like unto Foxes; they ſeldome take pains to digge any holes themſelves, but earth in that which the fooliſh Badger made for them, and dwell in the mannours and fair houſes which others have built and provided.

15 *Having loſt his own legs, he relyes on the ſtaff of his kinred*; firſt viſiting them as an intermitting ague, but afterwards turns

a quotidian, wearing their threſholds as bare as his own coat. At laſt, he is as welcome as a ſtorm; he that is abroad ſhelters himſelf from it, and he that is at home ſhuts the doore. If he intrudes himſelf yet, ſome with their jeering tongues give him many a gird, but his brazen impudence feels nothing; and let him be arm'd on free-coſt with the pot and the pipe, he will give them leave to ſhoot their flouts at him till they be weary. Sometimes he ſadly paceth over the ground he ſold, and is on fire with anger with himſelf for his folly, but preſently quencheth it at the next alehouſe.

16 *Having undone himſelf, he ſets up the trade to undo others.* If he can but ſcrue himſelf into the acquaintance of a rich heir, he rejoyceth as much at the prize, as the Hollanders when they had intercepted the Plate-Fleet. He tutours this young Garneſter in vice, leading him a more compendious way to his ruine, then poſsibly he could find out of himſelf. And doth not the guide deſerve good wages for his direction?

17 *Perhaps he behaves himſelf ſo baſely that he is degraded*; the ſad and ſolemn Ceremonies whereof, we may meet with in old Preſidents: but of them all, in my apprehenſion, none ſhould make deeper impreſsion in an ingenuous ſoul then this one, That at the ſolemn degradation of a Knight for high miſdemeanour, the * King and twelve Knights more did put on mourning garments, as an embleme of ſorrow for this injury to honour, that a man Gentile by birth and bloud, or honoured by a Princes favour, ſhould ſo farre forget not onely himſelf, but his Order, as to deſerve ſo ſevere puniſhment.

* *Markams Decads of Honour, pag. 76.*

18 *His death is as miſerable, as his life hath been vicious.* An Hoſpitall is the height he hopes to be advanced to: But commonly he dies not in ſo charitable a priſon, but ſings his laſt note in a cage. Nor is it impoſsible, but that wanting land of his own, he may incroch on the Kings high-way; and there, taking himſelf to be Lord of the ſoyl, ſeiſe on Travellers as Strayes due unto him, and ſo the hangman give him a wreath more then he had in his Armes before. If he dyes at liberty in his pilgrimage betwixt the houſes of his

acquaintance, perhaps ſome well-diſpoſed Gentleman may pay for his buriall, and truly mourn at the funerall of an ancient Family. His children, if any, muſt ſeek their fortunes the farther off, becauſe their father found his too ſoon, before he had wiſdome to manage them. Within two generations his name is quite forgotten, that ever any ſuch was in the place, except ſome Herald in his viſitation paſſe by, and chance to ſpell his broken Arms in a Church-window. And then, how weak a thing is Gentry, then which (if it wants virtue) brittle glaſſe is the more laſting monument?

We forbear to give an inſtance of a dangerous Gentleman; would to God the world gave no examples of them. If any pleaſe to look into the forenamed * Valerius Maximus, he ſhall there find the baſe ſon of Scipio Africanus, the conquerour of Hannibal and Africk, ſo ill imitating his father, that for his viciouſneſſe he received many diſgracefull repulſes from the people of Rome, the fragrant ſmell of his Fathers memory making him to ſtink the more in their noſtrils; yea they forced him to pluck off from his finger a ſignet-ring, whereon the face of his Father was engraven, as counting him unworthy to wear his picture, who would not reſemble his virtue.

* *Loco priùs citato.*

Chap. 15.

The Traytour.

A Traitour * works by fraud, as a Rebel does by force, and in this reſpect is more dangerous, becauſe there's leſſe ſtock required to ſet him up: Rebellion muſt be managed with many ſwords, Treaſon to his Princes perſon may be with one knife. Generally their ſucceſſe is as bad as their cauſe, being either detected before, defeated in, or puniſhed after their part acted; detected before, either by wilfulneſſe or weakneſſe of thoſe which are privie to it.

A plotter of Treaſon puts his head into the halter, and the halter into

* *He is either againſt the Sovereigne Perſon alone, or againſt the State wherein he lives. We deal onely in deſcribing the former, becauſe to character the other, exact skil in the Municipal Laws of that State is required, wherein he is charged of treaſon.*

into his hand to whom he firſts imparts it. He oftentimes reveals it, and by making a foot-ſtool of his friends head, climbs up the higher into the Princes favour.

Some mens ſouls are not ſtrong enough, but that a weighty ſecret will work a hole through them. 2 Theſe rather out of folly then falſeneſſe, unawares let fall words, which are taken up by the judicious ears of ſuch, who can ſpell Treaſon by putting together diſtracted ſyllables, and by piecing of broken ſentences. Others have their hearts ſwoln ſo great with hope of what they ſhall get, that their bodyes are too little to hold them, and ſo betray themſelves by threatnings and bluſtring language. Others have cut their throats with their own hands, their own writings, the beſt records, being produced againſt them. And here we muſt know, That

Strong preſumptions ſometimes ſerve for proofs in point of Treaſon: 3 For it being a deed of darkneſſe, it is madneſſe to look that the Sunne ſhould ſhine at midnight, and to expect evident proof. Should Princes delay till they did plainly ſee Treaſon, they might chance to feel it firſt. If this *ſemiplena probatio* lights on a party ſuſpected before, the partie himſelf is the other part of the proof, and makes it complete. And here the Rack, though Fame-like it be

Tam ficti pravique tenax, quàm nuncia veri,

is often uſed; and the wooden horſe hath told ſtrange ſecrets. But grant it paſſe undiſcovered in the plotting, it is commonly prevented in the practiſing,

By the Majeſtie, Innocency, or Valour of the Prince, or his attendants. 4 Some have been dazeled with the divine beams ſhining in a Princes face, ſo that coming to command his life, they could not be maſters of their own ſenſes. Innocency hath protected others, and made their enemies relent; and pitie (though a ſtranger to him for many years before) hath viſited a Traitours heart in that very inſtant. If theſe fail, a Kings valour hath defended him; it being moſt true of a King, what Plinie reports of a * lion, in hunting if he be wounded and not killed, he will be ſure to eye and kill him that wounded him.

* *Nat. hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 16.*

5 *Some by flouriſhing aforehand, have never ſtricken a blow*: but by warning, have armed thoſe to whom they threatned. Thus madde Somervile, coming to kill Queen Elizabeth, by the way (belike to trie whether his ſword would cut) quarrelled with and wounded one or two, and therefore was apprehended before he came to the Court.

6 *The palſie of guiltineſſe hath made the ſtouteſt Traitours hands to ſhake, ſometimes to miſſe their mark.* Their conſcience ſleeping before, is then awakened with this crying ſinne. The way ſeems but ſhort to a Traveller, when he views it from the top of an hill, who finds it very long when he comes into the plain: ſo Treaſon ſurveyed in the heat of bloud, and from the height of paſsion, ſeems eaſie to be effected; which reviewed in cold bloud on even terms, is full of dangers and difficulties. If it ſpeed in the acting, generally it's revenged afterwards: For,

7 *A King though killed is not killed, ſo long as he hath ſonne or ſubject ſurviving.* Many who have thought they have diſcharged the debt, have been broken afterwards with the arrearages. As for journeymen-Traytours who work for others, their wages are ever paid them with an halter; and where one gaineth a garland of bayes, hundreds have had a wreath of hemp.

Chap. 16.

The Pazzians conſpiracie.

Anno 1478. *April* 26. *The ſumme hereof is taken out of Machiavels Florent. Hiſt. lib.* 8. *p.* 407. *& ſequent.*

IN the city of * Florence, being then a Popular State, the honourable familie de-Medices managed all chief affairs, ſo beloved of the people for their bounty, that the honour they had was not extorted by their greatneſſe, but ſeemed due to their goodneſſe. Theſe Mediceans, depreſſed the Pazzians, another familie in that State, as big ſet, though not ſo high grown, as the Medicei themſelves, loading them with injuries, and debarring them not onely from Offices in the city,

city, but their own right. The Pazzians, though highly wrong'd, counterfeited much patience, and, which was a wonder, though malice boyled hot in their hearts, yet no ſcumme ran over in their mouthes.

At laſt, meeting together, they concluded, that ſeeing the Legall way was ſtopp'd with violence, the violent way was become Legall, whereby they muſt right themſelves; and they determined to invite Julian and Laurence Medices, the Governours of the State, to dinner, with Cardinall Raphael Riarius, and there to murther them. The matter was counted eaſie, becauſe theſe two brethren were but one in effect, their heads in a manner ſtanding on the ſame ſhoulders, becauſe they alwayes went together, and were never aſunder. Fifty were privy to this plot; each had his office aſsigned him. Baptiſta Monteſeccius was to kill Laurence, Francis Pazzius and Bernardus Bandinius were to ſet on Julian, whileſt the Archbiſhop of Piſa, one of their allies, was with a band of men to ſeiſe on the Senate-houſe. Cardinall Raphaels company rather then aſsiſtance was required, being neither to hunt, nor kill, but onely to ſtart the game, and by his preſence to bring the two brothers to the dinner. All appointed the next morning to meet at Maſſe, in the chief Church of S. Reparata.

Here meeting together, all the deſigne was daſh'd: for here they remembred that Julian de Medices never uſed to * dine. This they knew before, but conſidered not till now, as if formerly the vapours ariſing out of their ambitious hearts, had clouded their underſtanding. Some adviſed to referre it to another time, which others thought dangerous, conceiving they had ſprung ſo many leaks of ſuſpition, it was impoſsible to ſtop them; and feared, there being ſo many privie to the plot, that if they ſuffered them to conſult with their pillows, their pillows would adviſe them to make much of their heads; wherefore not daring to ſtay the ſeaſonable ripening of their deſigne, they were forced in heat of paſsion to parch it up preſently, and they reſolved to take the matter at the firſt bound, and to commit the murther

*Machiav. diſput. de Repub. lib. 3. cap. 6. pag. 397.

(they

(they intended at dinner) here in the Church, taking it for granted, the two Mediceans would come to Maſſe, according to their dayly cuſtome.

But changing their ſtage, they were fain alſo to alter their Actours. Monteſeccius would not be employed in the buſineſſe, to ſtain a ſacred place with bloud ; and breaking of this ſtring put their plot quite out of tune. And though Anthony Volateran and Stephen a Prieſt were ſubſtituted in his room, yet theſe two made not one fit perſon, ſo great is the difference betwixt a choice and a ſhift. When the Hoſt was elevated, they were to aſſault them ; and the Sacrament was a ſigne to them, not of Chriſts death paſt, but of a murther they were to commit.

But here again they were at a loſſe. Treaſon, like Pope Adrian, may be choak'd with a flie, and marr'd with the leaſt unexpected caſualtie. Though Laurence was at Church, Julian was abſent. And yet by beating about, they recover'd this again : for Francis Pazzius and Bernard Bandinius going home to his houſe, with complements and courteous diſcourſe brought him to the Church. Then Bandinius with a dagger ſtabb'd him to the heart, ſo that he fell down dead, and Francis Pazzius inſulting over his corps (now no object of valour but cruelty) gave it many wounds, till blinded with revenge, he ſtrook a deep gaſh into his own thigh.

But what was over-meaſure in them, in overacting their parts, was wanting in Anthony and Stephen, who were to kill Laurence in the Quire. *You* **Traitour*, ſaid Anthony; and with that Laurence ſtarting back avoided the ſtrength of the blow, and was wounded onely to honour, not danger, and ſo recovered a ſtrong chappell. Thus Malice, which vents it ſelf in threatning, warns men to ſhun it, and like hollow ſinging bullets, flies but halfway to the mark. With as bad ſucceſſe did the Archbiſhop of Piſa ſeiſe on the Senate-houſe, being conquered by the Lords therein aſſembled, and, with many of his Complices, hung out of a window.

* *Machiav. diſp. de Repub. lib. 3. cap. 6. pag. 399.*

The Pazzians now betake themſelves to their laſt refuge which their deſperate courſes had left them. James the chief of

of their family with one hundred more repair to the market-place, and there crie, *Liberty, Liberty.* A few followed them at firſt, but the ſnow-ball by rolling did rather melt then gather, and thoſe, who before had ſeen the foul face of their treaſon naked, would not be allured to love it now masked with the pretences of the publick good; and at laſt, the whole ſtrength of the State ſubdued them.

Every tree about the city bare the fruit of mens heads, and limbes: many were put to death with torment, more with ſhame, and onely one Renatus Pazzius with pity, who loved his conſcience better then his kinred, that he would not be active in the conſpiracy; and yet his kinred better then his conſcience, that he would not reveal it; Treaſon being like ſome kind of ſtrong poyſon, which though never taken inwardly by cordiall conſenting unto it, yet kill's by being held in ones hand, and concealing it.

Chap. 17.

The Tyrant.

A Tyrant * is one whoſe liſt is his law, making his ſubjects his ſlaves. Yet this is but a tottering Kingdome which is founded on trembling people, which fear and hate their Sovereigne.

* He is two-fold.
1. *In Titulo*, properly an Uſurper.
2. *In Exercitio*, whom we onely deſcribe.

He gets all places of advantage into his own hands: yea he would diſarm his ſubjects of all ſythes and pruning hooks, but for fear of a generall rebellion of weeds and thiſtles in the land. *Maxime* 1

He takes the Laws at the firſt, rather by undermining then aſſault: And therefore to do unjuſtly with the more juſtice, he counterfeits a legality in all his proceedings, and will not butcher a man without a Stature for it. 2

Afterwards he rageth freely in innocent bloud. Is any man vertuous? then he is a Traytour, and let him die for it, who durſt preſume to be good when his Prince is bad. Is he beloved? 3

loved? he is a rebell, hath proclaimed himſelf King, and reignes already in peoples affections, it muſt coſt him his life. Is he of kinne to the Crown, though ſo farre off that his alliance is ſcarce to be derived? all the veins of his body muſt be dreined, and emptyed to find there, and fetch thence that dangerous drop of royall bloud. And thus having taken the prime men away, the reſt are eaſily ſubdued. In all theſe particulars Machiavell is his onely Counſellour; who in his Prince, ſeems to him to reſolve all theſe caſes of conſcience to be very lawfull.

4 *Worſt men are his greateſt favourites.* He keeps a conſtant kennel of bloud-hounds to accuſe whom he pleaſeth. Theſe will depoſe more then any can ſuppoſe, not ſticking to ſwear that they heard fiſhes ſpeak, and ſaw through a mil-ſtone at midnight: theſe fear not to forſwear, but fear they ſhall not forſwear enough, to cleave the pinne and do the deed. The leſſe credit they have, the more they are believed, and their very accuſation is held a proof.

5 *He leaves nothing that his poore ſubjects can call their own, but their miſeries.* And as in the Weſt-Indies, thouſands of kine are killed for their tallow alone, and their fleſh caſt away: ſo many men are murdered merely for their wealth, that other men may make mummey of the fat of their eſtates.

6 *He counts men in miſerie the moſt melodious inſtruments*: Eſpecially if they be well tuned and play'd upon by cunning Muſicians, who are artificiall in tormenting them, the more the merrier; and if he hath a ſet, and full conſort of ſuch tortur'd miſerable ſouls, he danceth moſt cheerfully at the pleaſant ditie of their dying grones. He loves not to be prodigall of mens lives, but thriftily improves the objects of his cruelty, ſpending them by degrees, and epicurizing on their pain: So that as Philoxenus wiſhed a cranes throat, he could deſire aſſes ears, the longer to entertain their hydeous and miſerable roaring. Thus Nature had not racks enough for men (the Colick, Gout, Stone, &c.) but Art muſt adde to them, and devils in fleſh antedate hell here in inventing torments; which when inflicted on malefactours, extort pitie from merciſull

mercifull beholders, (and make them give what is not due) but when uſed by Tyrants on innocent people, ſuch tender hearts as ſtand by ſuffer what they ſee, and by the proxie of ſympathy feel what they behold.

7 *He ſeeks to ſuppreſſe all memorialls and writings of his actions:* And as wicked Tereus after he had raviſhed Philomela cut out her tongue; ſo when Tyrants have wronged and abuſed the times they live in, they endeavour to make them ſpeechleſſe to tell no tales to poſterity. Herein their folly is more to be admired then their malice, for learning can never be dreined dry: though it may be dambd up for one Age, yet it will break over; and Hiſtorians pens, being long kept faſting, will afterwards feed more greedily on the memories of Tyrants, and deſcribe them to the full. Yea, I believe their ink hath made ſom̃e Tyrants blacker then they were in their true complexion.

8 *At laſt he is haunted with the terrours of his own conſcience.* If any two do but whiſper together (whatſoever the Propoſitions be) he conceives their diſcourſe concludes againſt him. Company and ſolitarineſſe are equally dreadfull unto him, being never ſafe; and he wants a Guard to guard him from his Guard, and ſo proceeds *in infinitum.* * The Scouts of Charles Duke of Burgundy brought him news that the French army was hard by, being nothing elſe but a field full of high thiſtles, whoſe tops they miſtook for ſo many ſpears: On leſſer ground this Tyrant conceives greater fears. Thus in vain doth he ſeek to fence himſelf from without, whoſe foe is within him.

* *Comineus Comment. lib. 1. juxta finem*

9 *He is glad to patch up a bad nights ſleep, out of pieces of ſlumber.* They ſeldome ſleep ſoundly, who have bloud for their bolſter. His phanſie preſents him with ſtrange maſques, wherein onely Fiends and Furies are actours. The fright awakes him, and he is no ſooner glad that it was a dream, but fears it is propheticall.

10 *In vain he courts the friendſhip of forrein Princes.* They defie his amity, and will not joyn their clean hands with his bloudy ones. Sometimes to ingratiate himſelf he doth

ſome good acts, but virtue becomes him worſe then vice, for all know he counterfeits it for his own ends.

10 *Having lived in other mens bloud, he dies commonly in his own.* He had his will all his life, but ſeldome makes his Teſtament at his death, being ſuddenly taken away either by private hand, or publick inſurrection. It is obſerved of the camell that it lies quietly down till it hath its full load, and then riſeth up. But this *Vulgus* is a kind of a beaſt, which riſeth up ſooneſt when it is overladen; immoderate cruelty cauſing it to rebell. *Fero* is a fitter motto then *Ferio* for Chriſtians in their carriage towards lawfull Authoritie, though unlawfully uſed.

We will give a double example of a Tyrant: the one an abſolute Sovereigne, the other a Subſtitute or Vice-roy under an abſolute Prince.

Chap. 18.

The life of Andronicus.

Or the unfortunate Polititian.

An. Dom. 1179. 1. Alexius Comnenus, onely Son of *Manuel Comnenus* ſucceeded his Father in the Empire of *Conſtantinople*. A child he was in Age and Judgement: of wit, too ſhort to meaſure an honourable ſport, but loſt himſelf in low delights. He hated a book, more then a monſter did a looking glaſſe, and when his Tutour endeavoured to play him into Scollerſhip, by preſenting pleaſant Authours unto him, he returned, that learning was beneath the Greatneſſe of a Prince, who, if wanting it, might borrow it from his ſubjects, being better ſtor'd; *for* (ſaith he) *if they will not lend me their brains, I'le take away their heads.* Yea he allowed no other librarie, then a full ſtor'd Cellar, reſembling the Buts to Folioes, Barrells, to Quartoes, ſmaller Runlets, to leſſe Volumns, and ſtudied away his time, with baſe Company, in ſuch debauchedneſſe.

2. Leave

2. Leave we *Alexius* drowning his Care, or rather careleſneſſe in wine, to behold *Zene* his mother the Regent Empreſſe, Surfeting alſo in pleaſure with her husband *Proto-Sebaſtus*, who had married her, ſince the deceaſe of *Manuell* her late husband. This *Proto-Sebastus* a better Stallion, then warre-horſe, was a perfect Epicure, (ſo that *Apitius*, in compariſon of him, was a Churle to ſtarve himſelf,) better at his palat, then his tongue, yet better at his tongue, then his Armes, being a notorious Coward. He with the Empreſſe, conſpired to the diſſolute education of young *Alexius*, keeping him in conſtant ignorance of himſelf, their ſtrength conſiſting in his weakneſſe, who, had he been bred to underſtand his own power, might probably have curb'd their exorbitances. *An. Dom.* 1179.

3. The Body of the Grecian State, at this time, muſt needs be ſtrangely diſtempered, under ſuch heads. Preferment was onely ſcattered amongſt Paraſites, for them to ſcramble for it. The Court had as many Factions, as Lords, ſave that all their diviſions united themſelves in a generall vitiouſneſſe; and that *Theodorus* the Patriarch, was ſcoffed at by all as an Antick for uſing Goodneſſe, when it was out of faſhion and was adjudged impudent, for preſuming to be pious alone by himſelf.

4. As for the City of Conſtantinople, the chief ſeat of the Grecian Empire; ſhe had enjoyed happineſſe ſo long, that now ſhe pleaded *Preſcription* for proſperity. Becauſe living in Peace *Time out of mind*, ſhe conceived it, rather a wrong, to have conſtant Quiet denied, then a favour, from Heaven to have it continued unto her. Indeed, She was grown ſick, of a ſurfet of health, and afterwards was broken, with having too much riches. For in ſteed of honeſt induſtry, and painfull thrift, which firſt cauſed the greatneſſe of this City: now flowing with wealth, there was nothing therein, but the ſwelling of Pride, the boiling of luſt, the fretting of Envie, and the ſqueezing of Oppreſsion. So that ſhould their dead Aunceſtours ariſe, they would be puzzl'd to ſee Conſtantinople for it ſelf, except they were directed thereunto,

An. Dom. 1179.

by the Ruines of S^t. *Sophies* Temple. True it was ſome years ſince, upon a great famine, ſome hopes were given of a generall amendment. During which time, Riot began to grow thrifty, pride to go plain, Gluttons to faſt, and wantons were ſterv'd into Temperance. But forced Reformation will laſt no longer, then the violent cauſe thereof doth continue. For ſoon after, when plenty was again reſtored, they relapſed to their former badneſſe, yea afterwards became fouler for the Purge, and more wanton for the Rod, when it was Removed.

5. Now there was an Antifaction in the Grecian Empire, maintained by ſome Lords of ancient Extraction, who were highly offended at the great power which *Proto-Sebaſtus*, and *L. Xene* the Empreſſe uſurped to themſelves; and meeting privatly together, *Andronicus Lapardas* as prolocutor for the reſt, vented his diſcontentment, complaining, it was more then high time, that they now awake out of the lethargy of ſecurity, into which, by fooles lullabyes, they had couſened themſelves. That they in the empire, which have moſt at the Stake, are made onely lookers on; ſometimes admitted to the Counſell, out of Complement, and for Countenance barely to concur; but for the main kept in Ignorance of moſt materiall paſſages. That their names are all branded for death, and that no love to their perſons, but fear what might follow, had hitherto ſecured their lives. In a word; that they muſt ſpeedily reſolve on ſome projects for their protection, or elſe they ſhould approve themſelves heirs to *Epimetheus*, who is not found to have left any Land unto his Sonnes, but onely to have bequeathed an uſeleſſe *ſorrow* unto them, for their *portion*.

6. Hereupon they entred into a ſtrict Combination with themſelves ſecretly, vowing that they would improve their utmoſt might to bring in *Andronicus Comnenus*, a Prince of the bloud, one of great parts and abilities, (but lately baniſhed out of the Empire) to counterpoiſe the power of *Proto-Sebaſtus*, and to free young *Alexius* from the wardſhip of ſuch as abuſed him. We will preſent the Reader with a liſt of

of their Titles and offices, who were engaged in this deſigne; intreating him not to be offended with us, becauſe of the hardneſſe and length of their Names; but rather with their God-fathers who Chriſtened them. We have an Engliſh Proverb that *bones bring meat to Town*, and thoſe who are deſirous to feaſt themſelves on the pleaſant and profitable paſſages of Hiſtorie, muſt be content ſome time to ſtoop their ſtomacks to feed on hard words, which bring matter along with them. *An. Dom.* 1179.

7. Firſt, *Maria Prophyrogenita Cæſariſſa* daughter to *Manuel* the late Emperour, by a former wife, half ſiſter to *Alexius* the young Emperour.
2. *Cæſar* her husband, and Italian Lord, who was ſo overtopt with the high birth, and ſpirit of his wife, that in this Hiſtorie we find him not grown much above the bare mention of his Name.
3. *Conto-Stephanus*, the Great Duke, Admirall of the Galleys.
4. *Camaterus Baſilius* Preſident of the City.
5. *Hagiochriſtophorites Stephanus*, Captain of the Guard.
6. *Diſypatus Georgius* Lecturer in the great Church, (an higher office, then the modern acceptation of the word doth imply.)
7. *Tripſycus Conſtantinus* one of the moſt noble extractions.
8. *Macroducas Conſtantinus*, no whit inferiour to him in pedegree, or power.
9. *Andronicus Lapardas*, formerly mentioned, together with the aforeſaid.
10. *Theodorus*, the Patriark, laſt named, becauſe leaſt intereſſed. For in matters of piety, he was governed by his conſcience, but in matters of policy, by good Company, being therein himſelf utterly unskilled: and ſtrangers in unknown waies commonly follow the moſt beaten Tract of others before them. All theſe joyn'd in a league to bring *Andronicus* home to *Conſtantinople*, who, what he was, and how qualified, we will not foreſtall the Reader, conceiving it, though ſome-

An. Dom. 1179.

thing painfull, yet more healthfull for him to gain his Character by degrees in the Sequell of his Actions, Wherein he will ſufficiently diſcover himſelf, without our deſcription of him.

8. Now *Maria Cæſariſſa* was employed unto *Andronicus* (having ability in her ſelf, and advantage by her Sex for the cunning carriage of the matter) to acquaint him with their deſignes. She coming to *Oenæum*, where he liv'd in Baniſhment, informed of the generall diſcontent in the Grecian Empire : And how thoſe which baſely ſerved *Zene*, did onely command in the State. That beſides thoſe great perſons, (whoſe names ſhe preſented in writing) many others (as yet ſcrupulous Newters) would have their doubts fully ſatisfied, and declare on his ſide when they ſaw him appear with a powerfull Army. That it would be a meritorious work to enfranchiſe his Kinſman *Alexius* from their ſlavery, where under he, and the *Grecian* Empire did groan.

9. Welcom was that invitation to *Andronicus*, to be requeſted to do, what of himſelf he deſired. How willingly doth the fire flie upwards, eſpecially when employed to *fill up a vacuity*; becauſe then doing three good Offices, with one motion; Namely, expreſsing its Dutifullneſſe to the Dictates of Dame Nature; and contributing in caſe of Neceſsity, to the Preſervation of the Univerſe; and pleaſing its own peculiar Tendency, which delights in aſcending : Such now the Condition of *Andronicus*, who in this undertaking, would ſhow courteous in granting the Requeſt of his friends, appear pious in promoting the generall good, and withall ſatisfie the Appetite of his own Ambition and Revenge. Wherefore with treaſure, whereof he had plenty, he provided men and Armes, and prepared with all ſpeed for the Expedition.

10. But he could not be more buſie about his Warre, then *Xene* was imployed about her wantonneſſe, counting in life all ſpilt, that was not ſport, who to revenge her ſelf on envious death, meant in mirth to make her ſelf Reparation, for the ſhortneſſe of her life. That time, which flyeth of it ſelf,

ſhe

ſhe ſought to drive away with unlawfull Recreations. And though Muſick did jarre, and mirth was prophaneneſſe, at this preſent time, wherein all did feel what was bad, and fear what was worſe, yet ſhe by wanton Songs (Panders to Luſt) and other provocatives, did awaken the ſleepie ſparkes of her Corruption, into a flame of open wickedneſſe. *An. Dom.* 1179.

11. But it was a great and ſudden abatement to her jollity to hear that *Andronicus*, with a puiſſant Armie, was approaching the City. *Alexius Proto-Sebaſtus*, her minion, did woe all people to make reſiſtance. But he found abundance of Neuters, (of that luke-warm temper) which Heaven and Hell doth hate,) who would *not out of their Houſes, but ſtay at* * *home and ſide with neither party*, theſe did maintain that the *publick Good* was nothing but the reſult of many mens particular good, and therefore held, that in ſaving their own they advanced the generall Indeed they hop'd, though the *great veſſell of the State was wrackt*, in a private fly-boat of Neutrality, to waft their own Adventure ſafe to the Shore. But who ever ſaw dauncers on rops, ſo equally to poiſe themſelves, but at laſt they fell down and brake their Necks? And we will take the Boldneſſe to point at theſe hereafter, and to ſhew what was their ſucceſſe.

* ἐπ' οἴκε μόνον εἶναι, καὶ μηδενὶ προσέχειν τῶν μερῶν.

12. The beſt thing which befriended *Proto-Sebaſtus* (next to his own Money) was the obliging diſpoſition of *Zene*. She had as many *Nets* as *geſtures* to catch affections in, and with her Smiles, did not onely preſſe, but pay all Carpet Knights, and amourous Perſons to be of her partie. The City of *Conſtantinople* was thrice walled, with *wood, ſtones, and bones*, plenty of Shipping, artificiall Fortifications, and multitudes of men. The worſt, was their Arſenall was a goodly Stable of gallant wooden Horſes, but they wanted Riders to manage them, The *Grecians* (at this time) being very ſimple Seamen; though nature may ſeem both to woe and teach them to be skilfull Mariners, by affording them plenty of ſafe Harbours. However the *Grecians* conceiving Navigation beneath their honour (which indeed was above their *Induſtry*, reſigned the benefit of Trading in their own Seas to

An. Dom. 1179.

the *Italians* of *Pisa*, *Genoa*, *Florence*, and *Venice*, *Proto-Sebastus* hired *Mercenary* Marriners of these, and with them man'd his Ships, stopping the passages of *Propontis*, by which *Andronicus* coming from *Paphlagonia*, out of the lesser *Asia*, was to passe.

13. But now an Admirall was to be provided for his Navie: *Conto-Stephanus* the great Duke, formerly mentioned, challenged the place as proper to himself, scorning to be made a Stale to wear the Style in Peace, and not to execute the Office in warre, when occasion was offered to shew his valour, and serve his Countrie. What should *Proto-Sebastus* do? it is equally dangerous to offend, or imploy him. Yet he resolves on the latter, not willing to teach him, to be dishonest by suspecting him, conceiving it to be an engagement, on a Noble Nature to be trusty, because he was trusted. But he no sooner received the Charge, but betrayed the Galleyes to *Andronicus*, whereby in an instant he was made Master of all those Seas. The news whereof being brought to the City, what riding, what runing, what packing, what posting! happy he that could trip up his Neighbours heeles, to get first into the favour of *Andronicus*, Many that stak't their wives and children at home in the city, had laid good *Betts* abroad on the opposite party.

14. *Andronicus* being easily wafted over, comes to the Gates of *Constantinople*. Here to oppose him, there was rather a skirmish then a fight, or rather a flourish then a skirmish, the land forces consisting of two Sorts. First old Souldiers, who formerly having been notorious Plunderers, had their Armes so pressed down, with the weight of the peoples just Curses, that they could not lift up their Swords to any purpose, but having formerly preyed on their Friends, were made a prey to their Foes: Secondly, Citizens, used onely to traverse their Shops, and unacquainted with military performances. The city once entred, was instantly conquered, (whose strength was much overfam'd) such populous places, like unweildy bodies, sink with their own weight.

15. *Proto-*

15. *Proto-Sebaſtus* was taken Priſoner, and was kept ſome dayes and nights waking, being *pinch'd*, when once offering to ſhut his eyes. A torment which we meet not with to be uſed to ſo high a perſon, though (they ſay) of late in Faſhion, for the diſcovery of Witches. *An. Dom.* 1179.

But to put him out of his pain, *Andronicus* is conceived by ſome, mercifull unto him, in cauſing his eyes to be bored out, ſeeing it was leſſe torture not to ſee, then not to ſleep; So much for this great Coward, though this his *Character*, cannot be gueſſed from his Demeanour herein, ſeeing a better Souldier might have been worſted in this Expedition againſt Forces, of open Foes, and fraud of ſeeming friends, it being impoſsible to make them fight, who are reſolv'd to flie.

16. The Army thus entring the City, ſome outrages, they muſt of Courſe commit, but thoſe, neither for Number or Nature, ſuch as might have been expected: For when a place is taken by aſſault, the moſt ſtrict *Commanders* are not able to keep the mouthes of their Souldiers Swords faſting, but may be commended for moderate, if they feed not to a Surfet. Beſides, ſuch was the infinite wealth of *Conſtantinople*, her treaſures would tempt the fingers of Saints, much more of Souldiers; the *Paphlagonians*, (whereof the Army conſiſted,) vowed, that ſeeing their Swords had done ſo good ſervice, they would make *hilts* of Gold, for their *Blades* of Steel.

17. There was then inhabiting in the City of *Conſtantinople*, multitudes of *Frankes* (underſtand *French*, *Germanes*, and principally *Italians*,) ſo that well might this City be called *new Rome*, from the aboundance of *Latins* that lived therein, Theſe firſt by Manufactures, and then by Merchandize, got great wealth, (their diligence being more, and Luxury leſſe then the *Greeks*,) inſomuch that they ingroſſed all Trading to themſelves. This attracted the Envie of the Natives, that Strangers ſhould ſuck the Marrow of the State, alledging, that in proceſſe of time, the *Ivie* would grow to be an Oake, and thoſe prove abſolute in their own power, which, at firſt,

firſt, were dependent for their Protection. *Andronicus* with ſomething more then a bare Connivance, though leſſe then a full Command, freely conſigned theſe *Frankes* over to the Rapine of his Army.

18. Such of them as related, by former Friendſhip or *Alliance* to the *Grecians*, fled to them for ſhelter, who, inſtead of preſerving, perſecuted them, their Company being conceived Infectious, leaſt it ſhould bring the Plague of the Souldiers fury along with it. And who finds a faithfull friend in Miſery? All their goods were ſpoil'd, and moſt of their lives ſpill'd, ſave ſuch as formerly had eſcaped by flight to their ſhips. Thus *Andronicus* found a cheap way, both to pay his Souldiers, and pleaſe the people, who counted him an excellent *Phyſitian* of the State, and this a great cure done by him, in purging the ſuperfluous, yea noxious Aliens out of the City. Indeed carefull he was to preſerve the City it ſelf from ſpoyling, as having then a ſquint eye at the Empire; and knowing *Conſtantinople*, to be the *Seat* thereof, he would not deface that fair *Chair*, into which, in due time he hop'd himſelf to ſit down.

An. Dom. 1180.

1. ANdronicus being thus peaceably poſſeſ'd of *Conſtantinople*, firſt made his humble addreſſe to the young Emperour *Alexius*, and ceremoniouſly kiſſed his feet. The Spectatours variouſly commented on his prodigious humility therein Some conceiving he meant to build high, becauſe he began ſo low; others thinking that their Toes had need beware the cramp whoſe feet he kiſſed.

2. The next Stage, whereon his *Hypocriſie* acted, was the great Church it ſelf, where, meeting *Theodorus* the Patriark at the doore, he encountred him with tranſcendent Courtſhip, proteſting, that in him, he beheld the pattern of S^t^. *Chryſoſtome*, his famous Predeceſſour, it being queſtionable, whether that worthy Father, did more truly ſurvive, in the learned Books, he left to poſterity, or in the looks and life of *Theodorus*. And whileſt the Patriark was meditating a modeſt Reply, *Andronicus* did power Complements, ſo full and faſt upon

upon him, that ſtifled therewith, he could breath no Anſwer in return, but onely fell into a ſwound of amazement. *An. Dom.* 1180.

3. Hence, he advanced into the Quire, unto the monument of *Manuel* his Kinſman, and late Emperour. At ſight whereof, the tears trickled down his reverent Cheekes, as if they had run a race, which of them ſhould be the foremoſt: ſome interpreted this, the love which *Andronicus* abore to the memory of the dead Emperour, and others feared, that as the moiſt dropping of ſtones is the fore-runner of foul weather, ſo this relenting of his hard heart, preſaged ſome ſtorm to follow after, in the State. Then coming to *Manuels* Tombe, ordering his voice ſo low, as ſeeming he might not be, and yet ſo loud, as certain he was heard, what he ſpake, he expreſſed himſelf to this effect.

4. *Dear* Manuel, *my loyaltie ſtiles thee Soveraign, but my blood calls thee cozen. I will not ſay it was thy fault, but my Fate, not to have my love to thee underſtood, according to the integrity of my intentions. My Innocence, by thee, was baniſhed into a farre Countrey. The Burthen did non grieve mee, but the hand that laid it on; not ſo much to be an Exile, as an Exile made by thee. However, all my revenge unto thee, ſhall be in advancing the honour and ſafety of thy ſon* Alexius, *to free, whoſe Innocence, from the abuſe of his friend-pretended-enemies, I have embarked my ſelf, in a dangerous and deſperate deſign: Yea my manifold infirmities (of which I am moſt Conſcious grieve me not ſo much, in my own behalf, as becauſe thereby I am rendred diſable, from being ſerviceable to your ſon, in ſo high a degree as I deſire.*

5. Then ſinking his voyce, paſt poſsibility of being overheard, he continued. *Baſe bloudy, hound, which chaſeſt me from place to place. I here arreſt thy drowſie Aſhes, it being now paſt thy power to break this marble Cheſt. I ſcorn to ungrave thy duſt, (wiſhing that all my Enemies were as Sumptuouſly entombed,) but thy Sonne, Wife, Daughter, Favourites, Eriends, Name, Memory, I will utterly deſtroy. The Poets Phanſie begat three Furies in Hell, and I will be the fourth on Earth.*

6. Some will demand, how we came to the knowledge of this Speech, being ſo ſecretly delivered? It is anſwered it

is

An. Dom. 1179.

is impoſsible, ſome inviſible eare might lie in ambuſh within the Eare-reach of his words. Beſides, let me not be challenged for a libell, who can produce the party from whom I received it; and amongſt others, diſcharge my ſelf on one principall * Authour of Excellent credit. Though I believe that this Speech was never taken from the Originall of *Andronicus* his mouth, but was tranſlated from the black Coppie of his wicked actions, which afterward he committed.

* *Nicetas Coniates in vita Alexii numero*, 16.

7. His devotions ended, he retired to his own houſe, and there lived very privately, as renouncing all worldly Pompe and Pleaſure, whilſt his Engineers, under-hand, were very active to procure the Empire for him, which was thus contrived: A Petition was drawn, in the name of all the people, requeſting *Andronicus*, that he would be pleaſed, for the good of the State, to be choſen joynt Emperour with *Alexius*. This was ſubſcribed by the principall men in every place; and then Herds of ſilly Souls did the like. They never conſulted with the Contents of the paper, whether it was Bond, Bill, Libell, or Petition. But thought it a ſinne, not to ſcore their marks, where they were told, their betters had gone before them. At firſt they wanted names for their Parchment, but afterward, Parchment for their names. Here it would be tedious to recount, what ſleights and forgeries were uſed herein. If any delayed to ſubſcribe, they were preſently urged with great mens Preſidents; that it was Superſtition, to be more holy then the Biſhops: Rigour, to be more juſt then the Judges: Malepartneſſe, to pretend to more wiſdome then ſo many Stateſ-men, who had already ſigned it. And thus, many fearfull Souls were compell'd to conſent, by the Tyranny of others Examples. Indeed ſome few there were, which durſt be honeſt, whoſe Souls did ſtand on a Baſis of their own judgements, without leaning, with implicite faith, on others. Theſe diſavowed this State-Bigamie, proteſting againſt the Co-Empireſhip of *Andronicus*, And boldly affirming, that Crowns take a Maſter if they accept a Mate. But then all their Names, were returned unto *Andronicus*, who regiſtred them in his black Kallender, who,

who, for the preſent, did remember, and for the future would requite them. *An. Dom.* 1180.

The principall Agent, that openly promoted this Buſineſſe, was *Baſilius*, a Biſhop, one that profeſſed *Heaven*, and practiſed *Earth*, much medling in Temporall matters, being both lewd and lazie in his own profeſsion: onely herein he had the character of a good Churchman, that *by his preaching and living he ſet forth his office accordingly.*

9. And now the Scene being covertly laid, in a Solemne Aſſembly, on a high Feſtivall, this Biſhop, as the mouth of the reſt, (whoſe names he held in a Parchment Roll) repreſented to *Andronicus* the ſincere intentions, and earneſt wiſhes of the State. Moſt humbly requeſting him, that he would be pleaſed ſo farre to eaſe the tender years of his dear Kinſman, young *Alexius*, as to bear half the burthen of the Crown, and to accept to be joynt-Emperour with him: Preſuming, that ſuch was the Goodneſſe and Humility of *Andronicus*, that he would not diſdain a part, though he did deſerve the Whole. And after a long Oration concluded. *Thus anciently the Roman Senate coupled old delaying* Fabius, *with over haſty* Marcellus, *blending Youth with Age, the ſwift with Slow: Wholſome mixture, when the one brought Eyes, the other Hands; the one was for Advice, the other for Action. And thus alone it is poſsible that the diſtempered State of the Grecian Empire at this preſent, can be cured with this Cordiall, and ſacred Compoſition, of the Gravity of your Highneſſe, to temper the green years of* Alexius.

10. Hereat *Andronicus* diſcovered a ſtrangneſſe in his looks, as if he had needed an Interpreter to underſtand the Language which was ſpoken unto him; and after ſome Pauſe proceeded. *Let me not be cenſured for unmannerly in not returning my thanks, having my ſoul for the preſent poſſeſt with an higher employment of Admiration, That ſo many Aged Stateſ-men, as rich in Wiſdome, as years, ſhould be ſo much miſtaken in mine Abilities, as to conceive me in any degree fit for the Moity of a Crown. Go chuſe ſome Gallant, whoſe very fleſh is ſteel, can march all day, and watch all night, whoſe vaſt Atchievements may adde Honour unto your Empire. Alas! my pale face, lean Cheeks, dimme eyes, faint*

An. Dom. 1180.

heart, weak leggs, ſpeak me fit for no Crown, but a Coffin, no Royall Robes, but a Windingſheet. Nor am I aſhamed to confeſſe that my youth hath been exceeding vitious, wherein I ſpared the Devil the pains of courting me, by preferring my ſelf to his ſervice; And now it is my onely joy, with grief to recollect my former wickedneſſe. Of late I have found out a ſmall private place, (call it, as you pleaſe, leaſt of Cells, or greateſt of Graves,) wherein I intend wholly to devote the Remnant of my life to Meditation of Mortallity. For ſeeing naturally our ſelves are too deeply rooted in Earthlineſſe, it is good to looſen them a little before, that ſo by Death, they may be pluckt up with the more Eaſineſſe: Not that wilfully, either out of Lazineſſe, or Sullenneſſe, I decline to ſerve my Countrey, which claims a Share in me. But though I know I am not to live for my ſelf, *I am to* die to my ſelf, *and may now at this Age, juſtly Challenge to my ſelf a* Writt of eaſe, *from all worldly imployment.*

11. But *Baſilius* perceiving that he did but Complement a denyall, preſſed him with the greater importunity: Confeſſing it would torment the modeſty of his *Highneſſe* to be told how high the Audit of his virtues did amount, knowing that he deſired rather to deſerve then hear his own commendations. But withall inſtantly intreated him to remember (what he full well underſtood) that the Intreaties of a whole State, had the power of Commands; and that Heaven it ſelf was not ſo impregnable, but that it might be battered open, by the importunity of poore Petitioners, That from his acceptance of this their humble Proffer, they ſhould hereafter date the beginning of their Happineſſe. That this day ſhould ſtand in the Front of their *Almanacks* and in Scarlet Text, as a leader, command over the reſt, which followed it, as the new *Birth-Day* of the Grecian Empire.

12. However at that preſent nothing more was effected, and becauſe it was late, the Aſſembly was diſmiſſed, onely ſome principall Perſons were appointed with their private perſwaſions, to mollifie the ſtiffeneſſe of *Andronicus*, who prevailed ſo farre, that meeting next morning in the full concourſe of all Sorts of People, *Andronicus*, firſt looſned the Vizard of his diſſimulation for a time, letting it fairly hang by,

at

at last it fell off of it's own accord, and thankfully accepted their Shouts, and Exclamations, with GOD SAVE ALEXIUS AND ANDRONICUS JOINT EMPEROURS OF GREECE. *An. Dom.* 1180.

13. Then mounted on a high Tribunall, he made an eloquent Oration, as indeed he was not onely sweet, but lushious in his Language, and with the Circles of fine Paraſes, could charm any Stranger, both into love, and admiration of his perſon; ſmiling, with a pleaſant Countenance, he told them, that he conceived his own Condition was repreſented in the Eagle, diſplayed in the Imperiall *Standard*: For as *Naturaliſts* report, that Soveraign of birds, renews his Age, ſo he ſeemed to himſelf grown young again: as if the Heavens had beſtown upon him, new Shoulders for new burdens. And ſeeing it was their pleaſure, to elect him to the place, he promiſed to reſcue Right out of the Paws of Oppreſsion, to be the onely *Maſter of requeſts*: ſo that all complaints, ſhould have free Acceſſe to him, and, if juſt, Redreſſe from him. But eſpecially he would be Carefull of his own Converſation, intending, (Grace aſsiſting him) to *have a Law in his own example*. In a word, his ſpeech was all excellent good in it ſelf, ſave for this onely fault, that not one ſyllable thereof, was either truly intended or really performed.

14. The Solemnities of his *Coronation* were performed in great State, with much Pompe and Expence; And we may obſerve, that the *Coronations* of uſurpers, are generally more gorgious in their Celebrations, then thoſe of lawfull Princes. For uſurpers, out of exceſsive joy of what they have undeſervedly gotten, care not what Coſt they laviſh, Beſides, Ceremonies are more ſubſtantiall to them, to tell the world what they are, who otherwiſe would take leſſe notice of them, as not intituled by any right to the place they poſſeſs. Whereas Kings, on whoſe Heads Crowns are dropt from Heaven, by lineall deſcent, often ſave ſuperfluous Charges, at their Coronation, as being but a bare Ceremony, deriving or adding no right unto them, but onely clearing and declaring the ſame to others.

An. Dom. 1180.

15. The noiſe of the peoples Shouts, did allarm young *Alexius*, which hitherto was faſt ſleeping in ſome obſcure Corner, and little dreamt, that mean while, an Empire was ſtollen away from him. But now coming to *Andronicus*, he publickly congratulated his happineſſe, and with a ſmiling countenance, embraced him as hartily glad, that he had gotten ſo good a companion in ſo great an employment. We read, that in the Countrey of *Lituania*, there is a peculiar Cuſtome that married men have *Adjutores Tori*, *Helpers of the marriage bed*, which, by their conſent, lie with their wives; and theſe husbands are ſo farre from conceiving either Hatred or Jealouſie againſt them, that they eſteem them their principall friends. Surely the Beds in that Countrey, are bigger then in other places: ſeeing amongſt all other Nations, a wife is a Veſſell, wherein the Cape-Merchant will not admit any Adventurers to ſhare with him. It ſeemes, *Alexius* was one of this *Lituanian* Temper, that could accept a Partner in his Empire, tickled with joy at the ſhewes and Solemnities of his Coronation: And well might he laugh till his heart did ake, though ſome did verily think, that amongſt all the Pageants there preſented, he himſelf was the ſtrangeſt, and moſt ridiculous ſpectacle. As for *Xene* the Empreſſe, ſhe appeared not at all in publick, being penſive at home, having almoſt wept out her own Eyes becauſe *Proto-Sebaſtus* had his bored out.

16. Next every day in all Pattents and publick Receipts, their Names were tranſpoſed. Firſt, *Andronicus*, and then *Alexius*, this reaſon being rendred, that it was unfitting that a youth ſhould be preferred before ſo grave, and Reverent an old man. Or rather, becauſe, as in Numeration, the Figure is to be put before the Cypher. Here ſome of the friends of *Alexius* propounded, to ſtop the ambition of *Andronicus*, before the Gangrene thereof ſpread further; ſeeing what he received, did not ſatisfie, but enlarge his proud breaſt, prompting new thoughts unto him, and widening his heart for higher deſires. The motion found many to praiſe, but not to practice it; none wonld do, what all deſired

red were done. The younger ſort conceived, that this office, becauſe dangerous, was moſt proper for old men to undertake, who need not to be thrifty of their lives, ſeeing it was too late to ſpare at the Bottom. Old men were of the opinion, it beſt beſeemed the Boldneſſe and Activity of youth: and ſuch as were of middle Age, did partake of the Excuſes of both. Thus in a Project that is apparently deſperate, even thoſe who are proudeſt on their terms of Honour will be ſo humble, as in modeſty to let meaner men go before them. *An. Dom.* 1181.

17. As for the *Lords of the Combination*, (who firſt procured *Andronicus* his coming to *Conſtantinople*,) they found themſelves, that they now had farre over-ſhot the Mark they aimed at. For they intended onely to uſe him for the preſent, to humble and abate the Pride, and power of *Proto-Sebaſtus*. Which done, they meant, either wholly to remove, or warily to confine him. But now what they choſe for Phyſick muſt be given them for daily food: and wofull is the condition of that man, who, in caſe of neceſsity, taking hot water to prevent Swooning, muſt ever after drink it for Beverage, even to the burning out of his Bowells. For *Andronicus* though he came in as a Tenant at will, would hold his place in Fee to himſelf and his *Heires*. And whereas the aforeſaid Lords promiſed themſelves, if not Advancement to new Aſſurance to their old Offices; they found themſelves preferr'd to nothing but neglect and contempt: neither intruſted in the Advice, nor imployed in the Execution of any matters of Moment.

18. Indeed *Andronicus* did loath the ſight of thoſe *Lords*, as Debters do of Bailiffes, as if their very looks did arreſt him to pay for thoſe Grand favours which he had formerly received from them, brought by their help from baniſhment, to power and wealth in the Citty. Nor would he make uſe of them, as too ſturdy to be pliable to his Projects; ſtanding on their former deſerts and preſent Dignities; but employed thoſe *Oſiers* of his own planting, which might be eaſily wreathed to all purpoſes, being baſe *up-ſtarts*, depending on his abſolute Pleaſure. And as he uſed theſe alone, ſo theſe

onely in matter of *Execution*: who taking himſelf, and therein not miſtaken) to be ſole friend to himſelf, would not impart his Counſells to any one, being wont to ſay, that Ships ſink as deep with one as with one hundred *Leaks*.

19. Wee will conclude this Book with an Independent ſtory, hoping the *Reader* will take it as we find it. There was a noted Beggar in *Conſtantinople*, well known to the people thereabouts, (as who had almoſt worn the Treſholds of Noble mens doores, as bare as his own clothes) an exceeding tall, raw-bon'd body, with a meagre and lank Belly, ſo that he might have paſſed for Famine it ſelf. This man was found begging about the lodgings of *Andronicus*, very late at night, at an unſeaſonable hour, except one would ſay, that men of his profeſsion, as they are never out of their way, ſo they are never out of their time, but may ſeaſonably beg at any hour, when they are hungry. Being apprehended at the Guard, and accuſed for a *Conjurer*, (his ugly face being all the Evidence againſt him,) *Andronicus* delivered him over to the indiſcreet diſcretion of the People, to do with him as they pleaſed. Theſe wild Juſticers, without legall proof, or further proceeding, for *Almes*, beſtowed on him a Pile of *Wood* and a great fire, where they burnt him to *Aſhes*, whoſe fact might juſtly have intitled him to a *whipping* Poſt, but not to a *Stake*.

20. Say not that this is beneath our Hiſtory, to inſert the Death of a *Beggar* in the life of an *Emperour*. For all Innocents are equall in the Court of Heaven; And this *poore man*, who whilſt alive, was ſo loud at great Mens doores, for meat to preſerve his life, his bloud may be preſumed to be as crying and clamorous at the gates of Heaven to revenge his death. For herein *Andronicus* taught the People to be Tyrannicall, a needleſſe Leſſon to ſuch *apt Schollers*, who afterwards proved Proficients herein, to the coſt of their Teacher, as, God willing, ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

An. Dom. 1181.

1. THe news of *Andronicus* his being choſen joynt-Emperour, no ſooner arrived at the ears of *Maria Cæſariſſa*, but

but ſhe was drowned in a deluge of grief: being beholden to nature that ſhe could vent her ſelf in tears; ſeeing that ſorrow, which cannot bleed in the eyes, doth commonly feſter in the heart. And when her Nurſe lovingly chid her, for exceſsive ſadneſſe, ſhe pleaded her ſex, which can ſcarce do any thing without overdoing; ſo that Feminine paſsions, muſt either not be full, or overflow. *An. Dom.* 1181.

2. But anger, ſoon after having got the conqueſt of her own grief, with furious ſpeed ſhe repaired to the place, where the *Lords of the combination* were aſſembled, and there ſhe abruptly vented her ſelf in theſe Expreſsions.

3. *Greece is grown barbarous, and quite bereft of its former worth; not ſo much as the ruines of valour left in you, to reach forth unto poſterity, any ſignes that you were extracted from brave anceſtors. Time was when the Grecian youth adventured for the Golden-fleece, you may now adventure for the Aſſes skinne, the dul Embleme of your own conditions: The merry Greek, hath now drowned the Proverb of the valiant Greek. Tame Traytors all! that could behold an Uſurper, Mate and check your lawfull Emperour, and neither wag hand or tongue in oppoſition. Did my Father* Manuel *for this, impair his own, to raiſe your eſtates? He made you honourable and great: Oh that he could have made you gratefull! The beſt is, your very ſin will be your puniſhment. And though your practiſe hath been ſo baſe, your judgement cannot be ſo blind as to believe, that your Channells of Nobility can have a ſtream, when the Fountain of Honour is dammed up, by your unworthineſſe.*

3. The Lords, though by their ſilence they ſeemed firſt to ſwallow her words, yet expreſsion of *Tame Traitours* would not go down their Throats; the largeſt ſouls being narroweſt in point of credit, and ſooneſt choakt with a diſgrace. *Mamalus* therefore in the behalf of the reſt; *Madam* (ſaid he) *ſufficeth it now for us, barely to deny your ſpeech. Had you been a man, we ſhould have proceeded to defie the Speaker. What your paſsion now condemnes in us for baſe; your judgement will not onely acquit, for right, and approve, for ſafe: but even commend for honourable, and advantageous for our Maſter* Alexius. *Our Lives and Lands, are at the ſole diſpoſe, and the cruell mercy of our enemies.*

An. Dom. 1181.

We are instantly undone, if we whisper the least and lowest syllable of Loyalty, and utterly disabled from any future service to Alexius. *We conceive it therefore better for a time, to bow to our Foes, rather then to be broken by them: To spare in words, and spend what we please, in thoughts. We want not a will, but wait a time, to expresse our reallity to the Emperour, with most safety to our selves, and effect for him, in a season, least subject to suspition.*

5. Pacified with these words, she was contented to attend the performance of the Promise, in time convenient; though never living so long, as to behold it, being prevented by violent Death. For now *Andronicus* began freely to rage in Innocent bloud, cutting off such Nobles as he thought would oppose him. Something like truth was alledged against them, to stop the Clamours of the multitude. And power never wants pretences, and those legall, to compasse what doth desire. They were indicted of Conspiracy against *Andronicus*; And Knights of the Post, (of the Devils own dubbing) did depose it against them. Yea, silence was not enough to preserve mens Innocence: some being accused that their Noses did wrinkle, or their Eyes wink, or their Fore-heads frown, or their Fingers snap Treason against *Andronicus*.

6. In this his Epidemicall cruelty it was much, that a famous Jester of the Court escaped his fury. Of this fellow, his body downwards was a Foole, his head a Knave, who did carefully note, and cunningly vent, by the priviledges of his Coat, many State-passages, uttering them in a wary twilight, betwixt sport aud earnest. But belike, *Andronicus* would not break himself by stooping to so low Revenge, and made conscience in breaking the ancient Charter of Jesters, though wronging the Liberty of others, of greater Concernment.

7. Of such as were brought to publick Execution, it was strange to behold, the difference of their demeanour. Some, who were able to be miserable, with an undaunted mind, did become their afflictions, and by their Patience made their miseries to smile, not bowing their Souls beneath themselves,

themſelves, onely appealing for Juſtice in another world. Others did fooliſhly rage, and ramp, muſtring whole Legions of Curſes, as if therewith to make the Axe turn Edge. And then ſeeing no Remedy but death, their Souls did not bow by degrees, but fell flat in an inſtant; of Lyons, turning Calves, half dead with fear, received the fatall ſtroak of the Executioner. So many were confuſedly hudled to death, it is hard to rank them in order, onely we will inſiſt on ſome principall perſons. *An. Dom.* 1181.

8. Firſt, *Maria Cæſariſſa*, and her Husband (whether it was Conſcience or Manners, not to part man and wife;) and becauſe *Andronicus* durſt not, for fear of the People, bring them to publick death, their *Phyſitian* was brib'd with Gold, which he conceived cordiall for himſelf; And thereupon he did quickly purge out both their Souls by Poyſon, (an unſuſpected way,) which robs men of their lives, and yet never bids them to ſtand.

9. Next followed *Xene* the Mother Empreſſe being accuſed of high Treaſon for attemping to betray the City of *Belgrade*, to *Bela* K. of *Hungarie*. A pack't councell condemn'd her to death, which though otherwiſe vitious, was generally bemoaned, as moſt innocent in this particular. But, *Andronicus* the Emperour, cunningly derived the whole hatred hereof on young *Alexius* (whoſe power he never uſed or owned, but onely to make him the Cloak-father for odious Acts) urging him to ſign the Warrant for her execution. In the ſtout refuſall whereof, *Alexius* ſhewed more Conſtancy then was expected to come from him, clearly anſwering all Arguments, herein ſhewing himſelf a child in *Affection*, and more then a child in *Judgement*. Whereupon ſome ground their preſumptions, that his ſoul deſerved better breeding, and that he was not to be cenſured for weakneſſe of Capacity; but rather his friends to be condemned, for want of care, and himſelf to be bemoaned, for lack of Education. He flatly told *Andronicus*, that *Nero* was recorded Monſter to all Ages, for killing his Mother: And that he would never conſent to her death, that gave him life.

10. But

An. Dom. 1181.

10. But he proceeded to aggravate the crime of *Xene*, *Belgrade* being ſuch a piece of ſtrength, that it was a whole Province in effect. And though but a Town in *Bulk*, was a Kingdome in *Benefit*. All *Greece* awfully attending the fortune thereof. He minded *Alexius*, that *Fathers of Countreys, ſhould know no Mothers*; but that Soveraignes affections are onely of kinne to the good and ſafety of their Subjects. Beſides, (ſaith he) you need not ſcruple ſo much at her death, who is dead whilſt living, and hath been many years drowned in Luxurie. So that what was cruelty in *Nero*, will be Exemplary Juſtice in you.

11. *Alexius* rejoyned, that if his mother *Xene* was ſo drowned in Luxurie, the more need ſhe had to drown her ſinnes in penitent Tears, except it were conceived charity to kill both her ſoul and body. That Princes were not to own private affections, where they were deſtructive to the Common good, but might and muſt, where they conſiſted with the publick ſafety. Or elſe to become a *Prince*, would be all one, as to leave off to be *a man*. Grant *Belgrade* a ſtrong Place; it was ſtill in their own poſſeſsion, and her intended Treaſon ſucceeded not. And therefore he conceiv'd it a middle and indifferent way, that ſhe ſhould be depriv'd of liberty for plotting of Treaſon, and yet be permitted to live, becauſe the Plot took no effect: A cloiſter ſhould be provided, whereto ſhe ſhould be cloſe confin'd, therein to do Pennance for her former enormities. And in this Sentence, he conceived that he impartially divided himſelf betwixt the affection of a Child, and ſeverity of a Judge.

12. But *Andronicus* who was reſolved to have no denyall, highly commended him for his filiall care of his Mothers ſoul: *Yet*, ſaid he, *for the benefit thereof, fifty Fryers at my own proper charges, ſhall be appointed, which after her death, Night and day, ſhall daily pay their prayers in her behalf, whoſe ſufferages are as well known above, as her Prayers are ſtrangers there: it being to be preſumed, that whilſt ſhe is living, the Heavens will be deaf to her, which ſo long have been dumb to them. Speak not of her Project that it took no effect: for had it ſucceeded, none would have called it Treaſon, but*

but have beheld it under a more favourable Notion. He minded *Alexius*, that he had ſufficient power of himſelf, being joynt-Emperour to put her to death : but that he would in no caſe deprive him of this peerleſſe Opportunity of Eternizing his memory to poſterity, and ſecuring the State by his neceſſary Severity. For all hereafter would be deterred from attempting of Treaſon, as deſpairing of pardon, when they beheld the Exemplary juſtice on his own Mother. *An. Dom.* 1181.

13. *Alexius* ſtill perſiſting in his denyall, *Andronicus* at laſt fell to flat menacing, yet ſo cunningly carryed it, that his threats did not ſeem to proceed from any anger, but from love to the perſon, and grief for the perverſeneſſe of *Alexius*. He proteſted he would no more break his ſleep, he would ſtear the State no longer ; Let even the Winds and the waves hereafter be the Pilots to that crazie veſſell. He call'd the Heavens to witneſſe, (before whom he entred a Caveat to preſerve his own Innocence,) how he had tendred happineſſe to *Alexius*, but could not force it upon him, who wilfully refuſed it. In a word, ſo paſsionate he was, and ſo violent was the ſtream of his importunity, that the young Emperour, either out of weakneſſe, or wearineſſe to ſwim againſt it, was at laſt carryed away with the Current thereof, and ſubſcribed the Warrant.

14. To divert whoſe mind from muſing upon it, a ſolemn Hunting in the Countrey was contrived, that there he might take his pleaſure. In a Forreſt not farre off, a ſtately Stagge was lodged, ambitious (as they told him) to fall by the hand of an Emperour, or elſe to be dubbed an *Hart Imperiall*, if chancing to eſcape. All things being ready, *Alexius* is carried thither ; but withall, thoſe are ſent along with him, which hunted this Hunter, markt all his motions, learnt the language of his looks, and hands, with the different Dialects of his ſeverall fingers, ſo that he could not ſpeak a word, or make ſign to any of his faithfull ſervants, but preſently it was obſerved, and if materiall, reported to *Andronicus*. None of his friends durſt ſhew any diſcontent. If any was ſeen ſadly to wag his head, it was a certain ſign that

An. Dom. 1181.

that that head ſtood but looſe on his ſhoulders, and by the next return, the news would be, that it was fallen off: ſo miſerable was the condition of this Prince, and of all his followers.

But *Andronicus* had a Hind to hunt at home, and muſt provide for the Execution of *Xene*. And now to enter the tender years of his ſon *Manuel*, for great Actions, he thought firſt to bloud him with an *Empreſſe*, in private delivering the Warrant unto him. Behold here an unexpected accident! This good Child of a bad Father, (Grace can cut off the oldeſt, and ſtrongeſt Entail of Wickedneſſe) refuſed the Employment, alledging, there was no ſuch dearth of Hangmen, that a Prince need take their Office; and that it was againſt his conſcience, her Crime being rather pack't then prov'd, ſeeing ſhe was never brought to anſwer for her ſelf: Hereat his Father mad with rage, rated and reviled him. *Baſtard, thou wert never true Eagles Bird, whoſe eyes are dazled at the Sun of Womans Beauty. What? doth thy Cowardize take Sanctuary at Conſcience? He never climbes a Throne, that ſtands on ſuch poore pretences. What if ſhe never appeared to anſwer? where the fact it ſelf doth cry, it is needleſſe for the offender to ſpeak: Narrow-hearted fool! A Cottage is fitter for thee than an Empire. Have I pawned mine own ſoul, to found thy greatneſſe, and am I thus requited? and ſo abruptly brake off into weeping.*

16. *Manuel* Modeſt returned: *I am ſorry Sir, you ſhould pawn your ſoul for my ſake, but however I am reſolved not to looſe mine own. Whoſoever climbes a Throne without Conſcience, never ſits ſure upon it. I had rather ſucceed to your private paternall poſſeſsion, then to an ill-gotten Empire. Nor am I dazled at the Luſtre of her beauty, but at the clearneſſe of her Innocence; all men being generally Compurgatours for her integrity herein. Employ me, and try my valour in any other ſervice. Command, and I will fetch the Lions onely heir out of his Den, both in ſight and ſpight of Sire and Dam; onely herein I deſire to be excuſed, and I hope deſerve not to be accounted a Coward for fearing to commit a ſinne.* How much *Andronicus* was bemadded hereat, may eaſier be conceived, then expreſt, to receive a finall repulſe from his own Sonne, inſomuch as at the laſt he

was

was fain to make uſe of *Hagio Chriſtophorites Stephanus*, Captain of the guard (who alone of all the Lords of the Combination, ſtuck to him and was reſpected of him) and he very fairly took order to diſpatch her, ſtifling her (as ſome ſay) betwixt two Pillows. *An. Dom.* 1181.

17. The next News which took poſſeſsion of the Tongues and ears of people, was the cruell and barbarous death of young *Alexius* : whileſt, the vulgar did wonder that he dyed ſo ſoon, and the wiſe did more admire that he lived ſo long; and the difference was not great betwixt him that was now but a Ghoſt, and whileſt living but a ſhadow. * *Baſilius* went too farre to fetch a fit Paralell out of the Roman Hiſtory, to compare *Andronicus* and *Alexius* with old *Fabius* and ſprightfull *Marcellus* ; who might have met in the ſame ſtory farre nearer, (becauſe later by 100 years) a more lively reſemblance in the Conſulſhip of *Julius Cæſar* and *Bibulus*, whereof the one did all, the other drank all.

* *Vide ſupra 2. lib. parag. 9.*

18. The manner of *Alexius* his death was, that he had his neck broken with a Bow-ſtring ; the puniſhment in that place, (as ſtill amongſt the Turks) much uſed : and in this *Tyrants* Reign, the ſtring did cruelly ſtrangle more at home, than the Bow did valiantly kill abroad. This Bow-ſtring (to make a ſhort digreſsion) was an Inſtrument whereon *Andronicus* uſed to play, and ſportingly to make much Mirth and muſick thereon to himſelf, calling it *his medicine for all Malladies*. For whereas (ſaid he) Purges were baſe, Vomits worſe, Cupping painfull, Gliſters immodeſt, bloud-letting Cruell ; this Bow-ſtring had all the oppoſite good qualities unto them. And the ſame did quench the heat of Feavers, drain the moiſture of Dropſies, cure Plueiſies without piercing a vein, ſtay the Virtigo, heal the Strangurie, by opening the Urine, and onely ſtopping the breath. This being one baſe humour of *Andronicus*, (unworthy Civility and Chriſtianity) to break jeſts on men in miſerie, juſt as they were to die. As for the Gorps of *Alexius* (on whom he had practiſed with his foreſaid Medicine , they were moſt unworthily handled, and dead Bodies, though they cannot be hurt,

An. Dom. 1181.

may be wrong'd, eſpecially of ſuch eminent perſons.

19. Now to refreſh the Reader amidſt ſo many murders, and Maſſacres; it will not be amiſſe, to inſert an unexpected Marriage. *Alexius* left *Anna* an Empreſſe Dowager. And ſome dayes after her husbands death, he addreſſed himſelf a Sutor unto her, being to encounter with invincible diſadvantages. Firſt he came reaking with the bloud of ſlain *Alexius*. And what hope could he have that ſhe would embrace that Viper, that had ſtung her other-ſelf to death! Secondly the diſproportion of his Age, being paſt ſeventy and what motly colour'd Marriage, would it make to joyn his *gray* to *green*! his cold *November* being enough to kill her flourie *May*. Notwithſtanding all this, he had formerly been ſo fleſh't with fortune, he conceived he could never be lean afterwards; and knew that in matters of this nature, confidence in attempting, is more then half the way to ſucceſſe.

20. Firſt he poſſeſſ'd himſelf of her judgement, and made her believe that all his former undertakeings, were in ſervice to her, grieving that *Alexius* did not valew the *Pearl* he wore. He proteſted there was nothing about him old but his hairs, which were dyed white not by his Age, but by his Carefulneſſe for her preſervation. Then; he aſſaulted her affection, principally preſsing that Argument, which was never propounded to a meer woman, and returned with a deniall, namely, aſſuring her of power and greatneſſe, promiſing ſhe ſhould be the Conduit, through which all his favours ſhould paſſe, and all his people under his command, ſhould be bleſt or blaſted by her influence, neither were gifts wanting, and thoſe of the largeſt ſize, beſtowed on her Servants, (who promoted his cauſe) and the dulleſt bodies work on the moſt ſubtill Souls, by the mediation of ſuch Spirits.

21. Now, whether it was out of Childiſhneſſe, not being full fourteen, or out of fear, being farre from her friends, and her Perſon in his power; or out of pride, loath to abate of her former State; ſhe aſſented to his deſire. But to ſpeak plainly, he ſheweth himſelf to have ſtore of leiſure, and want

of

of work, who is imployed to find a Root in Reaſon, for all the fruit that grow's from Fancie: ſufficeth it, ſhe loved him affirming it, it was no wonder, that he ſhould take a poore Ladies Affections captive, whoſe valour in the Field, had ſubdued the moſt manly of his Enemies. *An. Dom.* 1181.

22. To make this ſtory paſſe for probable, we may fellow it, with the like in our Engliſh Chronicles. RICHARD the Third, though not ſo old, more ugly, then ANDRONICUS obtained the love, and was married to the Counteſſe of Warwick, the Relict of Prince *Edward* (ſon to King *Henry* the ſixth) whom the ſame *Richard* had ſlain at *Teuxbury*, ſhe knowing ſo much, and he not denying it, They were nameſakes, both *Ann's*, and when they had caſt up their Audit, both, I believe, might equally boaſt of their Bargains.

23. But *Andronicus* who was never unſeaſonably Amorous (but had his Luſt ſubordinate to his Ambition and cruelty, when they gave him leave and leaſure to proſecute his pleaſure) was not ſoftned by the Dalliance of marriage, to remit any thing of his former Tyranny. He proteſted that he counted the day loſt, wherein he had not kill'd or tortur'd ſome eminent Perſon: or elſe, ſo *planett-ſtruck* him with his frowns, that he enjoyed not himſelf after. He never put two men together to death after the ſame way; as not conſiſting with his ſtate to wear one torture threed-bare, but ever appeared in exchange, and variety of new manner of puniſhments. And if any wonder, that there was not a generall inſurrection made againſt this monſter of mankind, to rend him from the Earth; know that he had one humour, that did much help him, in being ſtern and cruell to Noblemen but affable and courteous to poore people, and ſo ſtill kept in with the vulgar. Beſides, many ſtately Structures he erected, and ſweetned his cruelties with ſome good acts for the Publick. Now that we might not ſeem to have weeded the life of *Andronicus*, or to be a kin to thoſe flies, which travelling by many fragrant Flowers, onely make their reſidence, on ſome ſore, or Dunghill, we will recount ſome of his

An. Dom. 1181.

his good deeds, and pitty it was, that they had not proceeded from a better Authour.

24. He ſurveyed the Walls of *Conſtantinople*, and mended them, whereſoever the chinks thereof did call for reparation. He pluckt down all the buildings without (yet ſo, that the owners ſuſtained no loſſe thereby) for fear in caſe of an enemies invaſion, thoſe houſes might ſerve them for ladders to ſcale the City with more eaſe. Thus all *Conſtantinople* was brought within the compaſſe of her Walls, (as ſhe remains at this day) not like many ill proportioned Cities in *Europe*, which groan under over-great Suburbs (ſo that the Children overtop the Mother) and branch themſelves forth into out-Streets, to the impairing of the root, both weakning and impoveriſhing the City it ſelf. He beſtowed great coſt in adorning the *Porphyrie Throne*, which an Uſurper did provide and beautifie, for a lawfull Prince to ſit upon it. He brought freſh *water*, (a Treaſure in that place) through a Magnificent Aqueduct, into the heart of the City, which after his death was ſpoyled out of ſpight (as private revenge in a furious fit, oft impairs the publick good) people diſclaiming to drink of his water, who had made the ſtreets runne with bloud. His benefaction to the Church of forty Martyrs amounted almoſt to a new founding thereof, intending his Tombe in that place, though it was arrant preſumption in him who had denied the right of Sepulture to others, to promiſe the Solemnity thereof unto himſelf.

25. But that which gained him the greateſt Reputation farre and near, even amongſt thoſe that never ſaw his face, was, an Edict for the ſaving of Ship-wrackt goods. There was amongſt the Greeks a conſtant practiſe, founded in cruelty, and ſtrengthned by cuſtome; that if a veſſell was diſcovered in danger of drowning, thoſe on the ſhore like ſo many ravenous Vultures, flockt about that Carkaſſe to pick out the eyes thereof, the wealth therein. Theſe made all their Hay in foul weather, which cauſed them not onely duly to wait, but heartily to wiſh for a Tempeſt: And as the wicked Tenants in the Goſpel concluded to *kill the Heir that*

ſo

ſo the Inheritance might be their own, Theſe remorſeleſſe men, to prevent future Cavills and clamours about the goods; diſpatcht the Mariners, alwayes by wilfully neglecting their preſervation, and too often by down-right contriving their deſtruction. More cruell then the very ſtocks and ſtumps of Trees, which growing by Rivers ſides, commonly hang over the water, as if out of pity, tendring their ſervice to ſuch as are in danger of drowning, and ſtooping down to reach their hands to help them to the ſhore. Now, *Andronicus* taking this barbarous Cuſtome into Conſideration, forbad it, for the time to come, on moſt terrible penalties, (and this Lion, if enraged, would by his loudneſſe, roare Hearing into the deaf) and enjoyned all to improve their utmoſt endeavours, for the preſervation of their perſons. Hence followed ſuch an alteration, that ſhipwrack't goods, if floating to land, ſafely kept themſelves without any to guard them. Men would rather blow their fingers, then heat their hands with a rotten Planck; rather go naked, then cover themſelves with a rag of Shipwrackt Canvas: It was ominous to ſteal the leaſt inch of a *Cable*, leaſt it lengthen it ſelf into an *Halter* to him that took it. All things were preſerved equally ſafe, of what value ſoever, and untold *Pearl*, might lie on the Shore untoucht, like ſo many *Oyſter-ſhels*. This diſperſed the fame of his Juſtice and Mercy into forraign parts: And as ſounds which are carried a long by the Rivers ſide, having the advantage of hollow Banks, and the water to convey them, are heard ſooner and quicker, then ſounds of the ſame loudneſſe, over the Land; So the Maritim Actions of Princes, concerning Trading, wherein Strangers, as well as their own Native Subjects are intereſſed, report them to the world in a higher Tone, and by a quicker paſſage, then any Land-lockt Action of theirs, which hath no further influence, but onely terminates in their own Kingdome. Yea this one ingratiating Decree of *Andronicus*, did ſet him up with ſo full ſtock of Reputation, that upon the bare credit thereof, might now runne on ſcore, the committing of many Murthers, & never have his name once called to accompt for any injuſtice therein.

An. Dom. 1180.

An. Dom. 1181.

26. And as the Sea-men by water, ſo the Husband-men by land (and thoſe we know have ſtrong Lungs, and ſtout ſides) cryed up the fame of *Andronicus*, becauſe he was a great preſerver of Tillage, and Corn was never at more reaſonable rates then in his Reign. He caſt a ſtrict eye on all Cuſtomers and Tax-gatherers, and (as evil Spirits are obſerved to walk much about ſilver Mines) ſo *Andronicus* did inceſſantly haunt all publick receivers of money ; and if finding them faulty ; oh excellent ſport for the people to ſee how thoſe Sponges were ſqueezed ! He allowed large and liberall maintenance to all in places of Judicature, that *want* might not tempt them to corruption. Thus, even the worſt of Tyrants light ſometimes on good actions, either ſtumbling on them by chance, or out of love (not of virtue, but) of their own ſecurity. They are wicked by the generall *Rule* of their lives, and pious by ſome *Exceptions*, *juſt*, by fits, that they may be more ſafely *unjuſt* when they pleaſe. And hereby *Andronicus* advanced himſelf to be tollerable amongſt Man-kind.

27. We could willingly afford to dwell longer under the Temperate Climate of his Virtues ; but Travellers muſt *on* their journey. Coming now to the *Third Zone* of his Fury, which indeed was not habitable : His Foes he executed, becauſe they were his foes ; and his friends, becauſe they were his friends. For they that let out a Courteſie at Intereſt to a Tyrant, commonly looſe the Principall : Witneſſe *Canto-Stephanus*, the great Duke, Admirall of the Galleyes who by betraying his truſt, brought *Andronicus* to *Conſtantinople*, and now fairly had his eyes put out. As for *Georgius-Diſsipatus*, *Andronicus* intended to roaſt him, being a Corpulent man, upon a Spit, affirming that ſuch fat Veniſon wanted no Larding, but would baſte it ſelf, and meant to ſerve him up as a dainty diſh in a Charger or *Tray*, to his Widdow, had not ſome intervening accident diverted it. He made a bloudy Decree, which had a train of indefinite, and unlimited extent, and would reach as farre as the deſire of the meaſurer : namely, that all ſuch of the nobility which were, now, or ſhould, hereafter, be caſt into Priſon ; ſhould be executed without

without any legall Triall, with their Children and Kindred. Prince *Manuell*, (whoſe worſt fault was, that *Andronicus* begat him) in vain oppoſed this Decree, alledging this to be the ready way for his Father to un-Emperour himſelf, by deſtroying that Relative *Title*, and leaving himſelf no Subjects. *An. Dom.* 1181.

18. But *Andronicus* had found Scripture, whereby to juſtifie his Act, and brought S. **Paul* for his Patron, whoſe practiſe and confeſsion he cited. *For the Good that I would, I do not; But the evil which I would not, that I do. Now if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but ſinne that dwelleth in me.* God keep us from Apocrypha-Comments on Canonicall Scripture: ſend us his pure *Text* without the gloſſe of *Andronicus*, who, belike conceiv'd he could not be a perfect Tyrant, by onely torturing of men, except alſo he did rack Gods Word, rending Text from Con-text, and both, from their true intent. * *Rom.* 7. 19, 20.

29. This Decree ſtartles ſuch Lords of the Combination as were left alive, together with *Mamalus*, principall Secretary to the late Emperour, and *Alexius Ducas*, the moſt Active, but not neareſt, Prince of the bloud. Theſe, meeting together, much bemoaned themſelves, till *Mamalus* counting ſuch puling paſsion beneath Maſculine Spirits, thus uttered himſelf.

30. *You late adorers of* Andronicus, *who did conceive it would poſe the power of heaven to cure the State, ſave onely by his hand, be your own Judges, whether it be not juſt that they ſhould die of the Phyſick who made a God of the Phyſician. Diſeaſes do but their kind, if they kill, and, an evil expected, is the leſſe evil: but no ſuch Torment as to die of the remedie: Onely one help is left us, if ſecretly and ſpeedily purſued. We know,* Iſaacius Angelus *by birth and merit is intitled to the Crown. True, he lives privately in a Covent, but worth cannot be hid, it ſhines in the dark; and greatneſſe doth beſt become them to wear it, by whom it is found, before it is ſought for, as more deſerved then deſired by them: ſay not that he is of too mild a diſpoſition; for, his ſoft temper will make the better Pultis for our ſore necks, long gauled with the yoke of Tyranny. And ſeeing we*

have thus long been unhappy under the extremities, the child-hood of Alexius, *and old years of* Andronicus, *let us try our fortunes under the middle age of Iſaacius: And no doubt we ſhall light on the bleſſed mean and happy temper of Moderation.*

31. The motion found entertainment beyond belief. And yet *Alexius Ducas* offer'd it to their conſideration, that ſo meek a *Dove* would never make good *Eagle*: Giving a Character, how a Prince ſhould be accompliſhed with valour and experience, by inſinuation deſigning himſelf. It is pleaſant to hear a proud man ſpeaking modeſtly in his own praiſe, whil'ſt the Auditours affect a wilfull deafneſſe, and will not hear his whiſpering, and ſlenting expreſsions, till at laſt he is fain to hollow down-right Self flattery into their Eares. Here it fared thus with *Ducas*, who thereby onely, expoſed himſelf to contempt: and perceiving no ſucceſſe, zealouſly concurr'd with the reſt for advancing of *Iſaacius*. All neceſſary particulars were politickly contrived, each one had his task appointed him: ſome, to ſeize on the ſhips, others, to ſecure the Pallace, make good the great Church: and the whole modell was exactly methodized, conſidering the vaſt Volumn thereof, which conſiſted of many perſons of quality therein engaged.

An. Dom. 1182.

1. BUt, great deſigns, like wounds, if they take Aire, corrupt. This project, againſt *Andronicus*, could not be covertly carried, becauſe conſiſting of a medly of perſons, of different tempers, and un-ſuiting ſouls having private intents, to themſelves, not cordiall, uniting their affections, but onely Friends, *for the time being*, againſt the common Foe: So that, through the Riftes, and chinks of their ſeverall aims and ends, which could not be joynted cloſe together, the vigilancie of *Andronicus* did ſteal a glimps of their deſign, apprehenſive enough to light a candell for himſelf from the ſpark of the ſmalleſt diſcovery.

2. And now let him alone to prevent their proceedings, by cutting both them and theirs off (that no mindfull heir might ſucceed to their ſpite) and that withall poſsible ſpeed; for

for he ſteer'd his actions by the compaſſe of that character, which one made of him, as followeth. *An. Dom.* 1182.

I love at leaſure, favours to beſtow:
And tickle men by dropping kindneſſe ſlow,
But my revenge, I in one inſtant ſpend,
That moment which begins it, doth it end.

Half doing undoe's many, 'tis a ſinne
Not to be ſoundly ſinfull; to begin,
And tire; I'le do the work. They ſtrike in vain
Who ſtrike ſo, that the ſtricken might complain,

3. *Mamalus* was the firſt who was brought to Execution, on this manner. A mighty fire was made, and to provoke the Tyrannie thereof (as if that pure Element of it ſelf had been too fine and ſlender, effectually to torment him) they made the flame more ſtiffe, and ſtuffie, by the mixture of pitch and brimſtone. Then *Mamalus* was brought forth ſtark naked, inſomuch that all ingenuous beholders, out of a modeſt Sympathy, conceived, that they ſaw themſelves naked, in ſeeing him: and therefore, (as much as lay in their power) they covered him, by ſhutting their eyes. When the Souldiers with Pikes, were provided to thruſt *Mamalus* into the fire, whileſt many Spectatours durſt not expreſſe their pittie to him, out of pittie to themſelves; leſt commiſerating of him, ſhould be underſtood complying with him; but were cautious to confine their Compaſsion, within the Compaſſe of their breſt, that it ſhould not ſallie forth, into their eyes, and outward geſtures.

4. Betwixt this Dilemma of Deaths, the ſharp Pikes of the Souldiers on the one ſide, and furie of the fire, on the other; he preferred the former, not as moſt honourable, and beſt complying with a military Soul; (not being at leaſure alaſſe, in time of torment, to ſtand on terms of credit,) but as leaſt painfull. But the Souldiers denied him this choice, and forced him into the fire; and then hearing his Shreeks,

An. Dom. 1182.

Shreeks, even thoſe who refuſed, out of favour, to give any pitty to his perſon, could not, out of juſtice, deny the payment of ſome compaſsion, (bound there-unto, by the Specialtie of Humanity) unto his miſerable condition.

5. Mean time, *Andronicus*, was a ſpectatour, tickling himſelf with delight, onely offended, that the ſport was ſo ſhort, and *Mamalus* dead too ſoon. The ſtench of whoſe burning fleſh (offenſive to others) was a perfume to him, who had the *Roman-Noſe* of Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and ſuch Monſters of cruelty. And, as he pleaſed his own ſmell, with the Odour of Revenge; his ſight, with beholding the execution; his Eare with the Muſick of his enemies dying Groans: So, there wanted not thoſe that wiſht, that his other ſenſes, were alſo imployed, according to his deſerts, his Touch and Taſt, that they might feelingly partake of the torture of the fire. Thus dyed *Mamalus*, ſcarce twenty four years of Age, before the Bud of his youth had opened into a flower; having in his parts, not onely promiſes, but ſome aſſurance, that the hopes of his future worth, ſhould be plentifully performed, had not this untimely accident prevented it.

6. *Lapardas* acted next on the Scaffold, though not condemned to death, but to have his eyes bored out: His Extraction was noble, State great, Pride greater; to maintain which, he contrived the Advancing of *Andronicus* to the Throne: the under ground Foundation of whoſe greatneſſe, was cloſely laid, by *Lapardas* whil'ſt he left the vilible Structure thereon, to others. Like a Mole he conveyed his train, cloſly ſpurring on *Baſilius* (who poſted of himſelf,) to act in odious Projects, whil'ſt himſelf ſculk't unſeen; hoping, if matters held, to be rewarded by *Andronicus* for his ſecret ſervice; if they miſcaried, to provide for his own ſafety; ſeeing none could challenge him, of any appearing open ill Actions wherein he was engaged.

7. But quickly he fell off of his ſpeed in ſerving *Andronicus*, whether, becauſe he conceived his deſerts found not a proportionable Reward: or, becauſe he bare a love to the perſon

An. Dom. 1182.

perſon of *Alexius*: or, becauſe he was not prefectly bad, and fainting in the way of wickedneſſe, could not keep pace therein, with the faſt and wide ſtrides of *Andronicus*, or which is moſt probable, he ſlowly perceived his Errour, that Tyrants pluck down thoſe ſtairs, whereby they aſcend to their greatneſſe: and then, too late, began to unravell, what he weaved before. True it was, he had aſsiſted *Andronicus*, ſo long, that he had offended all the ſide of *Alexius*, and had deſerted him ſo ſoon, that he diſ-ingaged all the party of *Andronicus* and ſo was unhappy not to have the cordiall Affections of either.

8. On the Scaffold he ſpake little expecting that the pain would kill him, confeſsing he ow'd a Death, to Nature, and a violent Death to Juſtice, and forgave all the world, ſave his own ſelf. Beholding the Sunne, *Farewell* (ſaid he) *Life of my life, my night muſt be at my noon*; and then laying his hands on his eyes: *Muſt I looſe you thus? Was it becauſe I ſhot forth Wanton Glances? Or, beheld Rivalls, With envious looks? Or, adored the Shine of Gold; that I muſt thus loſe you? Or, Was it, becauſe I acted in a dark Way, to advance the cruelty of a Tyrant; that now all my endeavours are ſeen by the World, and I muſt be blind? However, Divine juſtice appears cleareſt to me, in the loſſe of my Eyes.* Thus was *Lapardas* tortured: and though ſome may think that *Andronicus* ſwerved from his Principles, taking away onely light, not life from him, and thereby rather more enraged him *for*, then wholly diſabled him *from*, revenge; yet we may be aſſured, that Tyrant did never ſo do his works by the half but that he ſtrook out their *Teeth*, whoſe *Eyes* he bored out, ſo ſecuring their perſons, that he put them paſt power of doing him miſchief.

9. During this raging cruelty of *Andronicus*; we may commend, in *Theodorus* the Patriark, rather his ſucceſſe, then policie, (his ſimple goodneſſe being incapable of the later) who ſeaſonably withdrew himſelf from *Conſtantinople*, to a private place he had provided in the Iſle of *Terebynthus*: here he had built him an handſome houſe, equally diſtant from Envy and Contempt, *Bravery* and *baſeneſſe*, ſo that if Security and

ſweetneſſe

An. Dom. 1182.

ſweetneſſe had a mind to dwell together, they could not have found a fitter place for that purpoſe. Severall Reaſons moved him to his ſpeedy removall, beſides the avoiding the fury of *Andronicus*. Firſt, Becauſe *Baſilius* undermined him at the *Court* in his Patriarkſhip, *Theodorus* being abſent *thence*, when preſent *there*; bearing onely the name and blame, when the other had the power and profit thereof.

10. Secondly, to avoid the ſight of People, conceiving every Eye which did behold, did, accuſe him, as a principall cauſe of their miſeries, for helping *Andronicus* to the Empire. In whom *Theodorus* had been ſtrangely miſtook, as the beſt men are ſooneſt deceived with the painted piety, and penſive looks of Hypocrites, counting all Gold that ſhines, all ſooth, that is ſaid; betraid by their own charitie into a good opinion of others. Laſtly, it grieved him to ſee ignorance and impiety ſo rampant, baſe hands committing dayly Rapes on the Virgin *Muſes*; ſo that they might now even ring out the *Bell*, for dying learning, and ſadly toll the knell for gaſping Religion. Wherefore as *Divines* ſolemnly obſerve, to go off of the *Bench* juſt before the ſentence of condemnation is pronounced upon the Malefactour; ſo this Patriark perceiving the City of *Conſtantinople*, *Caſt*, by her own guiltineſſe, and by the confeſsion of her *crying* ſinnes againſt her ſelf; thought it not fit for him to ſtay there, till divine Juſtice ſhould paſſe a finall fatall doom upon the place, (which he every minute expected) but embraced this private opportunity of departure.

11. Soon after his retiring, he ended his life: we need not enquire into his diſeaſe, if we conſider his age, accounting now fourſcore and four winters. And well might his years be reckoned by Winters, as wanting both Springs, and Summers of Proſperity, living in conſtant affliction. And yet the laſt four years, made more wounds in his heart, then all the former plow'd wrinkles in his face. He dyed not guilty of any wealth, who long before, had made the poore his Heirs, and his own hands, his executours. After hearty Prayers, that Religion might ſhine when he was ſet, falling into

into a pious Mediation; he went out as a *Lampe*, for lack of Oyle: no warning Groan was ſighed forth to take his laſt farewell, but even he ſmiled himſelf into a Corps; enough to confute thoſe, that they bely death, who call her *grim* and *grizely*; which in him ſeemed lovely and of a good complexion. The few ſervants he left, proportioned the Funerall, rather to their Maſters eſtate, then Deſerts, ſupplying in their ſorrow, the want of Spices, and Balme, which ſurely muſt be ſo much the more pretious, as the Tears of men are to be preferr'd before Gums, which are but the weeping of Trees. *An. Dom.* 1182.

12. The Patriarks place was quickly ſupplyed by *Baſilius* the Biſhop, ſo often mentioned, preferred to the place by the Emperour. A *Patron* and *Chaplain* excellently met; for what one made Law, by his *Liſt*; the other endeavoured to make Goſpel, by his *Learning*. In ſtating of any Controverſie, *Baſilius* firſt ſtudied to find out, what *Andronicus* intended or deſired to do therein: and then let him alone to draw that Scripture, which would not come of it ſelf, to prove the lawfullneſſe of what the other would practice. Thus, in favour of him, he pronounced the legality of two moſt inceſtuous matches; and this Grecian *Pope*, gave him a diſpenſation to free him from all Oathes of Allegiance, which he had formerly ſworn to *Manuel* or *Alexius*: for this was the Humour of *Andronicus*, to have Religion along with him, ſo farre as it lay in his way, courting the company of pious pretence, (if poſsibly they might be procured) to countenance his deſigns: But in caſe they were ſo foul, that no gloſſe of Juſtice could be put upon them; he diſdained that Pietie which would not befriend him, and impudently acted his pleaſure in open oppoſition of all Religion.

13. But whilſt this *Baſilius* was thus hot about his ſecular affairs; there wanted not an aged Hermite, who took him to task, and ſoundly told him his own, though it made but ſmall impreſsion in him. Meeting him at advantage; *Hermites, you know*, ſaith he, *hate both Luxury and complement. In plain truth, I muſt chide you, that ſeeing, earth is but your Inne, and*

An. Dom. 1182.

heaven your Home; you miſtake the firſt, for the latter. Mans ſoul is ſo intent on its preſent object, that it is impoſsible, it ſhould attend two callings at the ſame time, but muſt needs make default in the purſuance of one of them. Your temporall intermedling drawes the envy of the Laity, for whoſe love you ſhould rather labour. Nor are you ſtor'd with forraign obſervations, really to enable you for ſuch undertakings. Say not that you may meddle with temporall State-affairs, and yet not intangle your ſelf with them, ſeeing the world is ſuch a Witch, it is impoſsible to do the one without the other. Obſerve thoſe Clergy ſticklers on the Civil Stage, and you ſhall ſeldome find them Crowned with a quiet death. Remember your Predeceſſour Chryſoſtome, *who did onely Pray and preach, and Read, and Write thereby made happy in the deſpight of his Enemies: For though twice expell'd his Patriarkſhip, he was twice reſtor'd with greater honour; ſo that it was not want of Policy, which loſt, but ſtore of Piety, which cauſed him to recover his place again. Speak I not this out of any repining at the luſtre of your preferment, who envy outward Honour no more then the ſhining of a Glo-worm, but meerly out of love to your perſon, and deſire of your happineſſe.*

14. But *Baſilius*, in ſome paſsion returned, *I perceive you are lately broken looſe out of your Cell, which makes you more fierce and keen like Hawks when they are firſt unrhooded, and newly reſtored to the light. Know, Sir, one may well attend two Callings if they be ſubordinate, as the means and the end. All my ſecular Buſineſſe is in order to the good of the Church. The love of the Laity unto us, without ſome aw mingled with it, can neither be long-laſting, or much ſerviceable. My Education hath admitted me into generall Learning, and made me capable of any imployment. I deny not the World to be a Witch, but I know how to arm my ſoul with holy Spells againſt all her Inchantments. Whereas you ſay, one cannot meddle with worldly matters, but muſt intangle himſelf therewith, it is all one, as if you ſhould affirm, that a temperate man cannot eat meat but he muſt ſurfet. Proofes from the event, argue not the juſtice or injuſtice of the Act; and nothing can be inferred from the ill ſucceſſe of our medling in ſecular affaires. To your inſtance of* Chryſoſtome, *I oppoſe the example of* Auguſtine *Biſhop of* Hippo, *who ſet in full brightneſſe, and yet kept a Court in his own houſe, where he umpir'd and decided all temporall*

temporall controverſies. You trample on that which you call pride in me, with that which is ſo in your ſelf. And all this proceeds out of ſpight, becauſe you cannot turn your Cowle *into a Mitre.* *An. Dom.* 1182.

15. But *Baſilius* was deaf to all theſe perſwaſions, and joyning with *Hagio-Chriſtophorites Stephanus*, (chief Engenier for *Andronicus*) advanced all cruell deſignes. And now *Mamalus* and *Lapardus* being executed, all others were poſſeſt with a Panick fear: and no wonder when the ſtring is broken, if the Beads be ſcattered. It being feared, that the Plot miſcarryed, they ſtrove to make themſelves innocent, by firſt making others guilty. And yet it was vain to take the pains who ſhould ſtart quickeſt, when they all met even at the Poſt: For *Andronicus* took order that they were all alike executed.

16. There were two of his Creatures, *Trypſycus*, and *Hagio-Chriſtophorites Stephanus*, who onely fell out, who ſhould be moſt officious to him. Each had the other in jealouſie, fearing his Rivall would engroſſe the Emperour unto him. Eſpecially *Stephanus*, was fearfull of *Trypſicus*; underſtanding that *Andronicus* wrote private Letters unto him, ſtiling him, his *Beloved friend*, with other expreſsions, which ſpake more intimacy then *Stephanus* was willing to hear. This *Trypſicus* had been a dangerous *Promoter* in all company, Repreſenting to *Andronicus* every ſillable ſpoken againſt him, to the diſadvantage of the ſpeaker, and as one ſaith, (I conceive rather in the Language of the times, then his own) *Every man then was to give an account of every idle Word.* It happened therefore that one was procured, who accuſed Trypsicus for jeering of John the Emperours eldeſt Son for Deformed, and that he ſcattered ſome looſe expreſsions, bewailing the miſery of the Times. Now, though the great Service which Tripsicus had done, might deſerve to over-weigh ſo light an Offence; it coſt him his life, Confiſcation of his goods, and Ruine of his Poſterity.

17. Now hath Stephanus room to Domineer alone in the favour of Andronicus, ſending him to ſeize on Isaacius, who for the preſent was got out of his Covent. It was

past the skill of the Spannel to catch him, who dived for the instant, but we shall find him in due time above water, and that to purpose.

An. Dom. 1183.

1. SECURITY is the Mother of danger, and the Grandmother of destruction. Let *Andronicus* be a proof hereof, who now, neareſt to his ruine, grew moſt confident, as conceiving he had ſtop't every cranny, where danger might creep in, and therefore in a bravery, he ſent a defiance to Fortune her ſelf, which notwithſtanding, was returned with his own ſpeedy overthrow.

2. Yet could he not juſtly complain, that he was ſuddenly ſurpriſed, ſeeing Nature might ſeem to have gone out of her way, to give him warning, and *Nemeſis* did not hunt him ſo faſt, but that ſhe allow'd him fair *Law* to provide for himſelf, by ſeverall Prodigies which happened at that time. But *Andronicus*, not onely againſt the full intent, but almoſt viſible meaning, of the ſame Accidents, did make a jeſting Conſtruction of them, and was deaf to the loud language of all ominous paſſages, as not relating unto him.

3. Being told of the apparition of a Comet, (no leiger-ſtarre of Heaven, but an extraordinary Embaſsadour) portending his death, as ſome expounded it; he ſcoffingly replyed, that he was glad to ſee the heavens ſo merry, to make Bone-fires, for his Triumphs: And what was a Comet, but the Kitchin-ſtuff of the aire, which blazing for a while, would go out in a ſnuff: Adding, that that Starre might preſage the fall of ſome Prince, that wore long hair, whereas, his was ſhort enough; when another told him of an Earth-quake, which had lately happened, *I am glad,* ſaith he, *that the Mother-Earth, ſick of the Collick, had ſo good a vent for her mind,* Being informed that the Stature of Saint *Paul,* (his Tutelary Saint) was ſeen to weep; he evaded the ſad preſage thereof, by diſtinguiſhing on tears, there being an Homonymie in their language, as bearing not onely different, but contrary Senſes, proceeding either from Mirth or Mourning; and therefore, that weeping might probably

bably, fore-ſhew good ſucceſſe In a word, all ſerious and ſolemn *Omens*, he tuned to a jeſting meaning, keeping himſelf conſtant to his firſt principle; *That, Fortune, when fear'd, is a Tyrant; when, ſcorn'd, is a Coward.* But though he unjuſtly perverted the ſenſe of theſe Prodigies; the event did truly interpret them in his deſtruction. *An. Dom.* 1183.

4. For *Iſaacius Angelus* perſecuted by the Executioner, fled into the great Church, (in thoſe dayes, the *Sanctuary at large* for Innocents) where, making an Oration to the people, he exceeded Expectation, and himſelf, as if hitherto he had thriftily reſerved his worth (a ſerious, others ſay, ſimple man) to ſpend it more freely when occaſion required it. He ſpake not like thoſe mercinary people, which make their tongue, their *ware*, and Eloquence, their *Trade*; but he uttered himſelf ſo pathetically, that he did not court Attention, but command it. He made both his innocence, and the cruelty of *Andronicus*, to appear ſo plain, that the people not onely afforded him, protection for the preſent; but alſo, beſtowed on him Soveraignty for the future, and inſtantly elected, and proclaimed him, Emperour of Greece.

5. Stand we here ſtill, and wonder what ſhould be the Reaſon, that *Andronicus* ſhould ſuffer this *Iſaacius*, next Prince of the bloud, ſo long ſafely to ſurvive, who had cut off other Perſons of leſſe danger, and lower degree. We cannot aſcribe it to his incogitancy, as inconſiſtent with his vaſt memory, to forget a matter of ſuch importance; leſſe can we impute it to his pitty, as if ſparing him out of compaſsion: ſeeing that a Thred might ſooner hope to be prolonged under the knife of *Atropos*, then any to find favour under his impartiall cruelty. Was it not then becauſe he had him in his power? and counting himſelf ſure to ſeize on him at pleaſure; reſerved him, as *Sweet-meat*, to cloſe his ſtomack, when firſt he had fed on ſeverall Diſhes of courſer Diet: Or, becauſe he ſlighted him, as a narrow hearted man, religiouſly bred in a Covent, unfit for a Camp, the object rather of his contempt, then fear; for that his hands might ſeem tied

An. Dom. 1183.

with his Beads, from being dangerouſly active, in the State. But, let us remove our wondring at this neglect of *Andronicus*, to make room for our admiration of divine Providence, who confounded this Politician in his own cunning. Thus the moſt expert Gamſters may ſometimes *overſee*; and, Traitours, though they be carefull to cut down all Trees, which hinder their ambitious Proſpect; will unawares leave one ſtill ſtanding, whereof their own Gallowes may be made.

6. Immediately all the Priſons in the City were ſet open, and thoſe petty ſinks of diſſolute people emptied themſelves into a common Sewer, and became into a tumultuous Torrent. Headlong they haſte to the Pallace of *Andronicus*, where, not finding him at home, they wreckt their ſpight upon that beautifull building, and ſumptuous furniture therein. Should I inſiſt upon particulars, all ſorts of Readers would be ſadded therewith. Ladies would lament the loſſe of ſo many Pearles and precious ſtones, whoſe very Caſes were Jewells. *Souldiers* bemoan the ſpoyling of ſo magnificent an Armorie. But *Schollers* would be moſt paſsionate, to bewail the want of that Librarie ſo full fraught with rarities, that nothing abated the pretiouſneſſe, but the Plenty of them. Many records, (the Stairs whereby *Antiquaries* climb up into the knowledge of former times) were torn in pieces, though we need not believe them ſo old, as that ſome of them had eſcaped *Noah's* floud, and were now drowned in a popular Deluge.

7. Nothing was preſerved whole and entire. Whether, becauſe they pretended ſome Religion in Revenge, as not aiming, out of Covetouſneſſe, to enrich themſelves, but out of Juſtice; to puniſh the Tyrant: or becauſe they thought the very *Goods* of *Andronicus*, were become *evil*, guilty of their owners faults, and therefore were all to be aboliſhed as execrable: yea, as if the very Chappel it ſelf, which he had built, had been un-hallowed, by the Prophaneneſſe of the Founder; with the Utenſils thereof, it was defaced. A ſtately Structure it was, ANDRONICUS not being of their opinion, who conceiving an holy horrour to live in dark and humble Cells,

Cells, fancie not Triumphant Churches, for fear that their Hearts be there loſt in their Eyes. But he profeſſed his Devotion to riſe with the roof of the Church; ſo that his ſoul ſeemed to anticipate heaven, by beholding the Earneſt thereof in a beautifull Temple. However, now his Chappel was laid flat to the ground; and, amongſt other things therein, of ineſtimable value, the Letter, which, by tradition, was reported to be written by Chriſts own hands, to *Abgarus* King of *Edeſſa*, then was embezeled. So irreſiſtable is the Tyranny of a Tumult; and therefore, it may be all good mens Prayers, that the People may either never underſtand their own power, or alwayes uſe it a-right. *An. Dom.* 1183.

8. *Andronicus*, as we ſaid before had ſecretly conveyed himſelf away. Who would not have thought, but that this great Fencer ſhould have been provided of variety of Guards, againſt all the croſſe blows of Fortune; at leaſt, to have had ſome impregnable place, near hand, to retire unto? Whereas he had no other Policy to eſcape, then that poor ſhift, which the ſilly ſimple *Hare* uſeth againſt the Hounds, by flying before them. Indeed had the Conſpiracy againſt *Andronicus*, been but locall, or partiall, ſo that he had any ſound part to begin on, he would probably have made reſiſtance, (as *Phyſicians* muſt have ſome ſtrength of Nature in their Patient, to practice on,) but the defection from him was ſo generall and univerſall, he found not any effectuall friend left him. Onely he had ſcrap'd together a maſſe of Coyne, more truſting in money, then men, hoping, in forraign parts, to buy ſome friends therewith; knowing that Gold, if weight, is currant in all Countreys. Then taking *Anna* his Empreſſe, and *Maraptica* his whore, with ſome few ſervants, he durſt confide in, and the Treaſure he had formerly provided, he made ſpeed, in a Pinnace, through the black Sea, to the *Tauro-Scythians*, out of the bounds of his Empire, hoping there to live in quiet. And becauſe we have mentioned *Anna* the Empreſſe, we cannot paſſe hereby in ſilence. For if one would draw a map of miſerie, to pair like years, with like miſ-hap, 'tis heard to find a fitter Pattern.

An. Dom. 1183.

9. Daughter ſhe was to the King of *France*, being married a child (having little liſt to love; and leſſe, to aſpire) to the young Emperour *Alexius*, whilſt both their years, put together, could not ſpell Thirty. After this, ſhe had time too much, to bemoan, but none at all, to amend, her condition, being ſlighted and neglected by her husband. Oft-times being alone (as ſorrow loves no witneſſe) having room, and leiſure to bewail her ſelf, ſhe would relate the Chronicle of her unhappineſſe, to the walls, as hoping to find pitie, from ſtones, when men prov'd unkind unto her. Much did ſhe envie the felicity of thoſe Milk-maids, to which each morning paſſe over the Virgin-dew, and Pearled-graſſe, ſweetly ſinging by day, and ſoundly ſleeping at night, who had the priviledge freely to beſtow their affections, and wed them, which were high in love, though low in condition: whereas, Royall Birth had denyed her that happineſſe, having neither liberty to chuſe, nor leave to refuſe; being compell'd to love, and ſacrificed to the Politick ends of her potent Parents.

10. But *Anna*, unhappy at her firſt Voyage, hoped to better her Condition by a ſecond Adventure; yet made more haſt then good ſpeed, marrying *Andronicus* ſome weeks after the death of *Alexius*. Surely there is an *Annus luctus, A year of mourning*, which the modeſty of widows may do well to obſerve, leaſt neglecting it in their widdow-hood, it be required of them afterwards, with Intereſt, in the ill ſucceſſe of their ſecond marriage. For, *Maraptica*, a proud Harlot, but excellent Muſician, juſtled with *Anna* in the Emperours affection: (and half an old Husband was too much for a young Lady to ſpare) and in proceſſe of time, prevailed to obtain violent poſſeſsion. The Empreſſe, knowing her ſelf honeſt, and amiable, ſtood on her Deſerts; not deſcending to beg that love, which ſhe conceived due unto her, but daring him to detain it at his own perill, ſeeing he wronged himſelf in wronging of her, forfeiting his Troth, which he had publickly pledged unto her. But, the Curtizan, knowing that that love needs Buttreſſes in Cunning, which hath no foundation

foundation in Conſcience; applyed her ſelf in all particulars to be complizant to the deſires of *Andronicus*. This *Maraptica*, though ſhe had fair fine fingers to play on the Lute, had otherwiſe foul great Clutches, to ſnatch, graſp, and hold, whatſoever ſhe could come by. And knowing that ſhe had but *a ſhort Term in the Tenement* of her greatneſs, (ſubject both to the mortality and mutabilitie of *Andronicus*) and withall, that ſhe was not *bound to reparations*, therefore cared not *what waſt ſhe made*; but, by wrong and rapine ſcraped together a maſs of money. Mean time, *Anna* was kept poor enough; who, whil'ſt Maid, Widdow, and Wife, (twice a Bride, before once a Woman) ſcarce ſaw a joyfull day; though born of a King, and wedded to two Emperours. *An. Dom.* 1183.

11. But to return to *Andronicus*, who purſued after by his guiltie conſcience, found no reſt in himſelf; ſo that for many nights, ſleep was a ſtranger unto him. He that had put out other mens eyes, could not cloſe his own; and when Nature in him ſtarv'd, for want of reſt, did at laſt hungerly ſnatch at ſhort ſlumbers. Dreams did more terrifie, then ſleep refreſh him. His active fancy in the night did deſcant on what he had done before. Sometimes, the pale Ghoſt of *Alexius* ſeemed with glowing Pincers to torment him, otherwhile *Maria Cæſariſſa* ſtitcht hot burning Needles through his ſide; and, not long after, two ſtreams of reeking bloud ſeemed to flow out of the eyes of *Lapardas*, wherein *Andronicus* for a while ſeemed to ſwim, till, beginning to ſink, to ſave himſelf, he caught hold on his Pillow, and ſo did awake.

12. When awaked, his mind was muſing upon a Propheſie, which ſome dayes ſince was delivered unto him: For he had employed an Agent, unto one *Seth*, an old Conjurer, to know of him what ſhould be the name of his next ſucceſsour in the Empire. Now, firſt a great *S.* was preſented in a Baſon of water; and next that, an *I.* but both ſo doubtfully delineated, that they were hardly legible: done on purpoſe for ſeverall Reaſons. Becauſe it ſtood not with the State of the *Prince of Darkneſſe*, to be over-clear in his Acts; and thoſe that vent bad wares love to keep blind ſhops:

Beſides,

An. Dom. 1183.

Beſides, obſcurity added venerations to his Oracle, and active Superſtitious Fancies, whet with the difficulty of them, would be ſharp-ſighted to read more then was written, But the main was to ſave his own credit, taking covert of Myſticall Expreſsions, that in caſe Satan ſhould fail in his Anſwers, he might lay the blame on mens underſtanding him.

13. Put then theſe two Letters together, *S. I.* and read them backwards *I. S.* by an *Hyſteroſis*, and take a part of the whole by a *Synecdoche*; (all favourable Figures muſt be uſed, to piece out the Devils ſhort skill in future Contingents) and then *Andronicus* was told by the Conjurer, he had the name of his Succeſſour. Ask me not why *Hells Alphabet* muſt be read backward, let Satan give an account of his own Couzinage: whether out of an apiſh imitation of the Hebrew, which is read retrograde, or, becauſe that ugly filthy Serpent, crawles *Cancer*-like, or to make his Anſwers the more *AEnigmaticall*, for the reaſons aforeſaid. *Andronicus* by this *I. S.* underſtood *I Saurus Comnenus*, who lately, by Uſurpation, had ſet up a Kingdome in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and therefore alwayes obſerved him with a jealous eye, and now too late perceives his errour, and finds the Propheſie performed in *Iſaacius Angelus*.

14. Thus, thoſe that are correſpondents with the Devil, for ſuch intelligence, have need when they have receiv'd the text of his Anſwers, to borrow his Comment too, leſt otherwiſe they miſtake his meaning. And, men may juſtly take heed of Curioſity, to know things to come; which is one of the kernels of the *forbidden Fruit*, and even in our Age ſticks ſtill in the throats of too many, even to the danger of choaking them, if it be not warily prevented.

15. Hitherto, what diſaſters had happened to *Andronicus* might partly be imputed to men, and ſecond cauſes: Whereas now divine juſtice, to have its power praiſed in its puniſhments, ſeemed viſibly to put out a hand from heaven; and he wants eyes, that cannot, or ſhuts them, that will not, behold it. See now the Gally, wherein he ſayled, having all the Canvas thereof, employed with a proſperous Wind, when ſuddenly

ſuddenly it was checkt in the full ſpeed, and beaten back with foul weather into a ſmall Harbour, called *Chele*. Soon after the winds ſerving again, he ſet forth the ſecond time, and had not made many leagues, when *Neptune* with his Trident thruſt him back again; ſuch was the violence of the Seas againſt him A third time he ſet forth with a fair Gale, when inſtantly, the wind changing forced him to return. Here, what tugging, what Towing, what Rowing! nothing was omitted, which Art, or Induſtrie, Skill or Will, could perform: *Andronicus*, dropping a ſhower of Gold to the Saylers, to reward the Sweat that fell from them. All in vain: For as, indeed, he had offended the *Fire*, with the Innocents he burnt therein: angred the *Aire*, with hundreds of Carkaſſes, which therein he had cauſed to be hanged: provoked the *Earth*, by burying men alive in her Boſome So, moſt of all he had enraged the *Water* againſt him, (now mindfull of his Injuries) by him made a Charnnell-houſe, and generall Grave, into which, the body of the young Emperour Alexius was caſt, with thouſands of his Subjects. God, herein to prevent all miſ-conſtructions of Caſualty (which otherwiſe men might faſten upon it,) and knowing that men are ſlow in their *Apprehenſions*, and dull in their Memory to learn the Leſſons of his Juſtice, he re-iterated and repeated it three ſeverall times, that the moſt blockiſh Scholler, might learn it perfectly by heart: *This is the work of the Lord, and it may juſtly ſeem marvellous in our eyes*. Thus Andronicus was, the third time, ſent back *to the place from whence he came, and ſo to the place of Execution*. For he was no ſooner come to the ſhore, but Servants, employed by *Iſaacius*, (who had way-laid all the Ports on the Black Sea) ſtood ready to Arreſt him.

1. *Andronicus* having now left him neither Army to fight, or legs to flie; (being in the poſſeſsion of his Enemies) betook himſelf to his Tongue, bemoaning his Caſe, and with Tears, begging their favour. But thoſe Eyes, which, weeping in jeſt, had mock'd others ſo often, could not now be truſted, that they were in earneſt. The ſtorm at Land was more *An. Dom.* 1184.

An. Dom. 1184.

more implacable then the tempeſt at Sea. Two heavy Iron Chains were put about his neck, (in Mettle and weight, different from them he wore before) and loaden with Fetters and Inſolencies from the Souldiers, (who, in ſuch Ware, ſeldome give ſcant meaſure) he was brought into the preſence of *Iſaacius*. Here the moſt mercifull and moderate contented themſelves with Tongue-revenge, calling him Dog of uncleanneſſe, Goat of Luſt, Tygre of Cruelty, Religions Ape, and Envies Baſilisk. But, others pull'd him by the Beard, twitch't the hair left by Age on his head, and proceeding from depriving him of Ornamentall Execrements, daſh't out his teeth, put out one of his eyes, cut off his right hand; and thus maimed, without Surgeon to dreſſe him, man to ſerve him, or meat to feed him, he was ſent to the publick Priſon amongſt Thieves and Robbers.

2. All theſe were but the beginning of evil unto him. Some dayes after, with a ſhaved head crowned with Garlick, he was ſet on a ſcab'd Cammell, with his face backwards, holding the Tail thereof for a Bridle, and was led clean through the City. All the Cruelties which he in two years and upwards, had committed upon ſeverall perſons, were now abbreviated and Epitomiſed on him, in as large a Character, as the ſhortneſſe of the time would give leave, and the ſubject it ſelf was capable of: they burnt him with Torches & Fire-brands, tortur'd him with Pincers, threw abundance of dirt upon him; and withall, ſuch filthineſſe, that the Reader would ſtop his Noſe, if I ſhould tell him the compoſition thereof; it is enough to ſay, that the worſt thing that comes from Man, was the beſt in the mixture thereof.

3. Such as conſult with their Credit will be cautious how they report *improbable Truthes*, fearing they will not be received for Truths, but rejected for improbable. Eſpecially in this Age, wherein men reſume their Libertie, conceiving it againſt the *Priviledge* of their judgements, to have their Belief, (which ſhould be a Voluntary) preſt by the authority of others, to give credit to what bears not Proportion with Likely-hood. Could an old man (ſuch as *Andronicus* was) paſſe the age of man,

man, three-ſcore and ten, who now onely lived *by the Courteſie of Death* to ſpare him, endure ſuch pain, three miles, through ſo populous a City? The Poets onely feigned *Atlas* to be weary of carrying of Heaven; but, muſt not our *Andronicus* be either ſtifled for want of breath, or back-broken with ſtore of weight, under ſo much earth thrown upon him? And was it poſsible, that He, who, before theſe times, had one foot in the grave, ſhould have the other not follow after, when driven with ſuch crueltie? *An. Dom.* 1184.

4. To render this likely, we may conſider; firſt, that it was the intent of the People, not to kill, but to torment him. Secondly, when one Diſh is to go clean through a Table of Gueſts, men are mannerly; all, take ſome, though none, enough. Beſides, he was one of a ſtrong Conſtitution, whoſe Brawny fleſh Nature had knit together with Horny Nerves. And yet, had he been a weak man; a Candle with glimmering light will burn long in a Socket, being thrifty of it ſelf. Life was ſweet to *Andronicus*, under all thoſe noiſome ſmells; and he would not part with it, whilſt he could keep it. But what was the main, it was poſsible God might ſupport his life, either out of Juſtice, or mercie. (And, we read in * Scripture, of Men, *that they ſhall deſire to die, and death ſhall flee from them.*) I ſay not of Juſtice, viſibly to acquit himſelf, in the eyes of the world, by making ſuch a Monſter, the open Mark for Mans Revenge; or out of mercy, giving him a long and large time of Repentance, if he had the happineſſe to make uſe thereof.

* *Revel. 9. verſe 6.*

5. Behold here a ſtrange Conflict, betwixt the Crueltie of the People on the one ſide, and the patience of *Andronicus* on the other; and yet an indifferent Umpire would adjudge the Victory to the latter: No raging, no Raving, no Muttering, no Repining; but ſwallowed all in ſilence Onely he cryed out, *Lord have mercy upon me*: And, *Why break ye a bruiſed Reed!* and ſenſible of his own guiltineſſe, he ſeemed contented to paſſe his Purgatory here, thatſo he might eſcape Hell hereafter.

6. After multitudes of other Cruelties, tedious to us to rehearſe,

An. Dom. 1184.

hearſe, (and how painfull then to him to endure !) he was hanged by the Heeles betwixt two Pillars: In this poſture, He put the ſtump of his right Arm, whoſe wound bleeded a freſh, to his mouth, ſo to quench (as ſome ſuppoſe) the extremity of his thirſt, with his own Bloud, having no other moyſture allowed him. When one ran a Sword thorough his Back and Belly, ſo that his very Entralls were ſeen, and ſeemed to call (though in vain) on the Bowells of the Spectatours, to have ſome compaſsion upon him. At laſt, with much a-doe, his ſoul (which had ſo many doores opened for it) found a paſſage out of his body, into another world.

7. Hear, how one of great * Learning, is charitably opinioned of his finall Eſtate, making this Apoſtrophe to his Ghoſt: *Oh,* ANDRONICUS! *Oh thou Emperour of the Eaſt! how much waſt thou bound unto God, whoſe will it was, that for a few dayes thou ſhouldſt ſuffer ſuch things, that thou mighteſt not periſh for ever! Thou waſt miſerable for a ſhort time, that thou mighteſt not be miſerable for all eternity. I make no doubt, but thou hadſt the years of Eternity in mind, ſeeing that thou didſt ſuffer ſuch things ſo conſtantly, and couragiouſly.*

* *Drexelius* upon eternity, 5. Conſideration, *p.* 147.

8. But doth not ſo ſtrong Charity Argue a weak judgement? Deſpair it ſelf may preſume of ſalvation, if ſuch an one was ſaved. How improperly did he uſurp that Expreſſion, comparing himſelf to a * *Bruiſed Reed*, when, another Scripture-reſemblance was more applyable unto him, of a * *Bul-ruſh bowing down his head*; onely top-heavy for the preſent, with ſenſe of ſuffering, not inwardly contrited in heart, for the ſinnes he had committed. Muſt not true Repentance have a longer ſeaſon to ripen it, and by works enſuing, to avouch to the world the ſincerity thereof? Inſomuch that, of late, ſome affirm that the good Thief on the Croſſe did not then firſt begin; but firſt renew this repentnce, lately interrupted by a felonious Act. Allow *Andronicus* for a Saint; and we ſhall people Heaven with a new plantation of Whores and Thieves, and how voluminous will the *Book of Martrys* be, if Pain alone does make them!

* *Mat.* 12. 20.

* *Iſai.* 58. 6.

9. On the other ſide, we muſt be wary, how in our Cenſures,

ſures, we ſhut Heaven-doore againſt any Penitents. Farre be it from us to diſtruſt the power of Gods mercy, or to deny the efficacie of true (though late) Repentance: the laſt groan which divorces the Soul from the body, may unite it to God: though the Arm of his body was cut off, the Hand of his faith might hold. All that I will adde is this, if *Andronicus* his ſoul went to Heaven, it is pitty that any ſhould know of it, leſt they be encouraged to imitate the wicked Premiſes of his life, hoping by his Example to obtain the ſame happy Concluſion after death. *An. Dom.* 1184.

10. After his execution, the tide of the Peoples fury did turn, who began to love his memory, and lament his Loſſe: Such as before were blinded with prejudice againſt him, could now clearly ſee many good deeds he had done for the Publick. And began to recount with themſelves, many Soveraign Laws, which he had enacted: ſome bemoaned the miſery which he had endured, as if his puniſhment was over-proportion'd to his deſarts. Whether this pitie proceeded out of that generall humour of men, never to value things till they are loſt; or, becauſe their revenge had formerly ſurfeited upon him, and now began to diſgorge it ſelf again; Or, which is moſt probable, this Compaſsion aroſe from the mutability and inconſtancy of humane Nature, which hates alwayes to be impriſoned in one and the ſame mind; but being in conſtant Motion through the *Zodiac* of all Paſsions, will not ſtay long in the ſame *Sign*, and ſometimes goes from one Extremity to another.

11. By this time *Iſaacius* was brought by *Baſilius* the Patriark unto the Throne, and placed thereon with all ſolemnity: then the Crown was put upon his head, on the top whereof was a Diamond-Croſſe, (greatneſſe and care are twins) which *Iſaacius* kiſſed: *I welcom thee,* ſaid he, *though not as a ſtranger, who have been acquainted with Croſſes from my Cradle: Thou art both my Sword and my Shield; for hitherto I have conquered with ſuffering.* Then weighing the Crown in his hand; it is (ſaith he) *a beautifull burthen, which loads, more then it adorns.*

An. Dom. 1184.

12. Here *Basilius* the Patriarck made a Sermon-like Oration unto him, which, as it was uttered with much gravity, so it was heard with no lesse Attention, and embraced by the Emperour with great thankfulnesse. *Not presuming, Sir, to teach you what you do not know, I am incited by my Calling, and encouraged by your Clemency, to put you in mind, of what otherwise you may forget. This* Crown *and* Scepter *were sent you from Heaven; onely we have done our duty in delivering them unto you. And now me thinks, that Divine Majesty perfectly shines in You his Image. These our eyes upheld, and folded hands, and bared heads, and bended knees are due from us to God, and we pay them to him, by paying them to you his Receiver. And we doubt not, but you will improve the Power and Honour bestowed on you, for the protection of the people committed unto you.*

13. *In a mans body, whilst naturall Heat and radicall Moisture observe their limits; all is preserved in health: if either exceeds their bounds, the body either drowns, or burns. It fareth thus in the Constitution of the State, betwixt your Power, and our Prosperity; whilst both agree, they support one another: but, if they fall out, about Masterie, even that which over-comes, will be destroyed in a generall confusion. And if you should betray your Trust, though we bow, and bear, and sigh, and sob, armed with Prayers and Tears; yet know, that our sad Mournings will mount into that Court, where lie the Appeals of Subjects, and the Censures of Soveraignes, which will heavily be inflicted by him, whom you represent. Speak I not this, out of any distrust of your Justice, but out of earnest desire of your happinesse, wishing, that the greatnesse of* Constantine, *founder of this place, the goodnesse of* Jovian, *the successe of* Honorius, *the long life of* Valens, *the quiet death of* Manuel, *the immortall fame of* Justinian, *and whatsoever good was singl'd on them, may joyntly be heaped upon you, and your Posterity.*

14. Hereupon followed such a shout of the people, as the oldest man present had not heard the like; and all interpreted it as a token presaging the future felicity of the new Emperour. And thus we have presented the Reader, with the remarkable intricacie and perplexity of successe (as if Fortune

Fortune were like to looſe her ſelf in a Labyrinth of her own making,) winding backward and forward, within the compaſſe of five years, with more ſtrange varieties then can eaſily be pararell'd in ſo ſhort a continuance of time. *An. Dom.* 1184.

1. Firſt, *Alexius*; no *Andronicus*.
2. Then, *Alexius*; and *Andronicus*.
3. Then, *Andronicus*; and *Alexius*.
4. Then, *Andronicus*; no *Alexius*.
5. Then, *Iſaacius*; no *Andronicus*.

Thus, few ſtrings curiouſly plaid upon by the cunning fingers of a skilfull Artiſt may make much Muſick: and Divine Providence made here a miraculous harmony by theſe odd expected tranſpoſitions, tuning all to his own glory.

15. Here I intended to end our Hiſtory, ſave that I cannot diſcharge my Truſt, and be faithfull to the Truth, without taking ſome ſpeciall obſervation of *Baſilius*. We cannot forget how Active an Inſtrument he had been to ſerve the cruelty of *Andronicus*: and when firſt I looked wiſhly upon his hand (ſo buſied in wicked employments) I preſently read his Fortune, that he ſhould come to a violent death. The old * Hermite ſeemed to me a Prophet, to confirm me in my opinion, (when reproving him for ſtickling in temporall matters) and my conjectures grew confident, that this Patriark in proceſſe of his time, would either ſhake of Mitre from his head, or his head from his ſhoulders. And, perchance, if the ingenuous Reader would be pleaſed freely to confeſſe his thoughts therein, he was poſſeſt with the ſame expectation.

* *Book* 4. 13. *Parag.*

16. How wide were we from the mark? how blind is Man in future Contingents? How wiſe is God, in croſsing our conceits, leaving the world amuſed with his wayes? that men finding themſelves at a loſſe, may learn more to adore, what they cannot underſtand! See *Baſilius*, as brave, and as bright as ever; and whilſt all his Fellow-ſervants had their wages paid them by *Andronicus*, (ſome made

An. Dom. 1184.

longer in their Necks, others ſhorter by their Heads) He alone ſurvives in Health and Honour: which made moſt to admire, what peculiar Antidote of Soveraign virtue he had gotten, to preſerve himſelf from the infectious fury of that Tyrant.

17. But that which advanceth this wonder into the Marks of a Miracle, is, that this cunning Pilot, ſhould ſo quickly *tack about*, when the wind changed, and ingratiate Himſelf with *Iſaacius*. When times ſuddenly turned from Extreams; thoſe perſons which formerly were firſt in favour, are caſt fartheſt behind, and they muſt be very active and induſtrious to recover themſelves. But *Baſilius* by a ſtrange Dexterity, was inſtantly in the front of Favourites, and, without any abatement, carried it in as high a ſtrain as ever before; and, although (being weary already) I am loath to travell further into the Reign of this new Emperour, to ſee in the ſequell thereof what became of *Baſilius* at laſt; yet, ſo farre as I can from the beſt choſen Advantage diſcern aud diſcover his ſucceſſe; no ſignall Puniſhment, above the ordinary Standard of Caſualties, did befall Him; and, for ought appears to the contrary, he dyed in his bed.

18. Of ſuch as ſeriouſly conſider this Accident, ſome perchance may be ſo well ſtockt with Charity, as to conceive, that he repented of his former Impiety; and, thereupon was pardoned by Heaven, and came to a peaceable end. Others may conceive, that as, when a whole Forreſt of Trees is felled, ſome aged, eminent, Oake, by the highwayes ſide, may be ſuffered to ſurvive, as uſeleſſe for Timber, becauſe decayed; yet, uſefull for a Landmark, for the direction of Travellers; ſo *Baſilius* being now aged, and paſt dangerous Activity, was preſerved for the Information of Poſterity, and (when all others were cut down by cruell deaths,) he left alone to inſtruct the enſuing age of the Tragicall paſſage which had happened in his Remembrance. But the moſt ſolid, and judicious will expreſſe themſelves in the language of the * Apoſtle, *Some mens ſinnes are open before-hand, going*

* 1 *Tim.* 5. 24.

going before to judgement, and ſome mens follow after. All notorious offenders are not publickly branded in the World with an infamous Character of ſhame or pain: but ſome carrie their ſinnes concealed, and receive the reward for them in another world. *An. Dom.* 1183.

19. It onely remaineth, that we now give the perſonall deſcription of *Andronicus*, ſo farre forth as it may be collected from the few extant Authours which have written thereof.

I.

His Stature.

HE was higher then the ordinary ſort of Men. He was ſeven full feet in length (if there be no miſtake in the difference of the meaſure.) And whereas, often the Cockloft is empty, in thoſe which nature hath built many ſtories high; his head was ſufficiently ſtored with all Abilities.

II.

His Temper.

OF a moſt healthfull Conſtitution; of a lively Colour, and vigorous Limbes, ſo that he was uſed to ſay, that he could endure the violence of any Diſeaſe for a Twelvemonth together by his ſole naturall ſtrength, without being beholding to Art, or any aſsiſtance of Phyſick.

III.

His Learning.

HE had a quick Apprehenſion, and ſolid judgement, and was able on any emergent occaſion, to ſpeak rationally on any Controverſie in Divinity. He would not abide to hear any Fundamentall Point of Religion brought into queſtion; inſomuch, that when once two Biſhops began to contend about the meaning of that noted place, *My Father is greater then I am*, *Andronicus* ſuſpecting that they would fall foul upon the *Arrian* Hereſie, vowed to throw them both into the River, except they would be quiet, A way to quench the hotteſt Diſputation, by an in-artificiall Anſwer, drawn from ſuch Authoritie.

An. Dom. 1184.

IIII.

His Wives.

FIrſt, *Theodora Comnenia*, Daughter of *Iſaacius Sebaſto Crator*, his neareſt kinſwoman; ſo that the Marriage was moſt inceſtuous.

The ſecond, *Anna*, Daughter to the King of *France*: of whom, largely before.

V.

His lawfull Iſſue, both by his firſt Wife.

John Comnenius his eldeſt ſonne. It ſeems he was much deformed, and his Soul, as cruell, as his body, ugly. He aſsiſted *Hagio Chriſtophorita-Stephanus* in the ſtifling of *Xene*.

Manuel, his ſecond ſonne, of a moſt vertuous diſpoſition. Let thoſe, that undertake the enſuing Hiſtory, ſhew how both had their eyes bored out by *Iſaacius*.

VI.

His Naturall Iſſue.

I Meet with none of their names, and though he lived wantonly with many Harlots, and Concubines: yet (what a Father obſerveth) πολυγαμία ποιεῖ ἀτεκνίαν *Many Wives make few children.* And it may be imputed to the providence of Nature, that Monſters (ſuch as *Andronicus*) in this particular, are happy that they are Barren.

VII.

His Buriall.

BY publick Edict it was prohibited that any ſhould bury his body; however, ſome were found, who beſtowed, though not a ſolemn *grave*, yet an obſcure *hole* upon him, not out of pitty to him, but out of love to themſelves; except any will ſay, that his Corps, by extraordinary ſtinch, provided its own buriall, to avoid a generall annoyance.

FERDINAND Alvarez *de Toledo* Duke *of* Alva, *Viceroy of the* Netherlands *under* Philip *the* 2d. *He dyed in* Portugall *Anno Dñi* 1582. *in the* 75. *yeare of his Age.*

W.M. sculp.

Chap. 19.

The life of Duke D' Alva.

FErdinand Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva, one bred abroad in the world in ſeverall warres (whom Charles the fifth more employed, then affected, uſing his churliſh nature to hew knotty ſervice) was by Philip the ſecond, King of Spain, appointed Governour of the Netherlands.

At his firſt arrivall there, the loyaltie of the Netherlanders to the King of Spain was rather out of joynt, then broken off, as not being weary of his government but their own

grievances. The wound was rather painfull then deadly, onely the skirts of their lungs were tainted, ſending out diſcontented not rebellious breath, much regretting that their Priviledges, Civil and Eccleſiaſticall, were infringed, and they grinded with exactions againſt their Laws and Liberties.

But now Duke D'Alva coming amongſt them, he intended to cancell all their charters with his ſword, and to reduce them to abſolute obedience. And whereas every city was fenced not onely with ſeverall walls, but different locall liberties, and municipall immunities, he meant to lay all their priviledges levell, and caſting them into a flat to ſtretch a line of abſolute command over them. He accounted them a Nation rather ſtubborn then valiant, and that not from ſtoutneſſe of nature, but want of correction, through the long indulgence of their late Governours. He ſecretly accuſed Margaret Dutcheſſe of Parma, the laſt Governeſſe, for too much gentleneſſe towards them, as if ſhe meant to cure a gangren'd arm with a lenitive plaiſter, and affirmed that a Ladies hands were too ſoft to pluck up ſuch thiſtles by the root. Wherefore the ſaid Dutcheſſe, ſoon after D'Alva's arrivall (counting it leſſe ſhame to ſet, then to be outſhin'd) petitioned to reſign her regencie, and return'd into Italie.

An. Dom. 1568.

To welcome the Duke at his entrance, he was entertain'd with prodigies and monſtrous * births, which happened in ſundry places; as if Nature on ſet purpoſe miſtook her mark, and made her hand to ſwerve, that ſhe might ſhoot a warning-piece to theſe countreys, and give them a watch-word of the future calamities they were to expect. The Duke, nothing moved hereat, proceeds to effect his project, and firſt ſets up the *Counſell of troubles*, conſiſting of twelve, the Duke being the Preſident. And this Counſell was to order all things in an arbitrary way, without any appeal from them. Of theſe twelve ſome were ſtrangers, ſuch as ſhould not ſympathize with the miſeries of the countrey; others were upſtarts, men of no bloud, and therefore moſt bloudy; who being themſelves grown up in a day, cared not how many they

* *Famianus Stra. de Bello Belgico, pag.* 430.

they cut down in an hour. And now rather to give ſome colour, then any virtue to this new compoſition of counſellours, four Dutch Lords were mingled with them, that the native Nobility might not ſeem wholly neglected. Caſtles were built in every city to bridle the inhabitants, and Gariſons put into them. New Biſhops Seas erected in ſeverall cities, and the Inquiſition brought into the countrey. This Inquiſition, firſt invented againſt the Moores, as a trap to catch vermine, was afterwards uſed as a ſnare to catch ſheep, yea they made it hereſie for to be rich. And though all theſe proceedings were contrary to the ſolemn oath King Philip had taken, yet the Pope (who onely keeps an *Oath-Office*, and takes power to diſpence with mens conſciences) granted him a faculty to ſet him free from his promiſe.

Sure as ſome adventurous Phyſicians, when they are poſed with a mungrell diſeaſe, drive it on ſet purpoſe into a fever, that ſo knowing the kind of the maladie they may the better apply the cure: So Duke D'Alva was minded by his cruell uſage to force their diſcontents into open rebellion, hoping the better to come to quench the fire when it blazed out, then when it ſmok'd and ſmother'd.

And now to frighten the reſt, with a ſubtle train he ſeiſeth on the Earls of Egmond and Horn. Theſe counted themſelves armed with innocencie and deſert, having performed moſt excellent ſervice for the King of Spain. But when ſubjects deſerts are above their Princes requitall, oftentimes they ſtudy not ſo much to pay their debts, as to make away their creditours. All theſe victories could not excuſe them, nor the laurel wreaths on their heads keep their necks from the ax, and the rather, becauſe their eyes muſt firſt be cloſed up, which would never have patiently beheld the enſlaving of their countrey. The French Embaſſadour was at their execution, and wrote to his Maſter Charles the ninth, King of France, concerning the Earl of Egmond, * *That he ſaw that head ſtruck off in the Marketplace of Bruſſels; whoſe valour had twice made France to ſhake.*

* *Fam. Strad. de bell. Belgico, pag.* 449.

This Counſell of troubles having once taſted Noble bloud,

bloud, drank their belly-fulls afterwards. Then deſcending to inferiour perſons by apprehenſions, executions, confiſcations, and baniſhments, they raged on mens lives and ſtates. Such as upon the vain hope of pardon returned to their houſes, were apprehended, and executed by fire, water, gibbets, and the ſword, and other kinds of deaths and torments: yea the bodies of the dead (on whom the earth as their common mother beſtowed a grave for a childs portion) were caſt out of their * tombes by the Dukes command, whoſe cruelty outſtunk the noyſomneſſe of their carcaſes.

* *Grimſt. Hiſt. of the Netherlands, pag.* 413.

And leſt the maintaining of Garriſons might be burdenſome to the King his Maſter, he laid heavy impoſitions on the people: the Duke affirming that theſe countreys were fat enough to be ſtewed in their own liquour, and that the Souldiers here might be maintained by the profits ariſing hence; yea he boaſted that he had found the mines of Peru in the Low-countreys, though the digging of them out never quitted the coſt. He demanded the hundredth peny of all their moveable and immoveable goods, and beſides that, the tenth peny of their moveable goods that ſhould be bought and ſold, with the twentieth peny of their immoveable goods; without any mention of any time, how long thoſe taxes and exactions ſhould continue.

The States proteſted againſt the injuſtice hereof, alledging that all trading would be preſſ'd to death under the weight of this taxation: weaving of ſtuffs (their ſtaple trade) would ſoon decay, and their ſhuttles would be very ſlow, having ſo heavy a clog hanging on them; yea hereby the ſame commodity muſt pay a new tole at every paſſage into a new trade. This would diſhearten all induſtry, and make lazineſſe and painfulneſſe both of a rate, when beggery was the reward of both, by reaſon of this heavy impoſition, which made men pay dear for the ſweat of their own brows. And yet the weight did not grieve them ſo much, as the hand which laid it on, being impoſ'd by a forein power againſt their ancient priviledge. Hereupon many Netherlanders, finding their own countrey too hot, becauſe of intolerable

taxes,

taxes, ſought out a more temperate climate, and fled over into England.

As for ſuch as ſtayed behind, their hearts being brimfull before with diſcontents, now ran over. 'Tis plain theſe warres had their originall, not out of the Church, but the State-houſe. Liberty was true doctrine to Papiſt and Proteſtant, Jew and Chriſtian. It is probable that in Noahs Ark the wolf agreed with the lamb, and that all creatures drowned their antipathy, whileſt all were in danger of drowning. Thus all ſeverall religions made up one Common-wealth to oppoſe the Spaniard: and they thought it high time for the Cow to find her horns, when others not content to milk her, went about to cut off her bag.

It was a rare happineſſe that ſo many ſhould meet in one chief, William of Naſſaw, Prince of Orange, whom they choſe their Governour. Yea he met their affections more then half way in his loving behaviour; ſo that Alva's cruelty did not drive more from him, then Naſſaw's courteſie invited to him. His popular nature was of ſuch receipt, that he had room to lodge all comers. In peoples eyes his light ſhined bright, yet dazled none, all having free acceſſe unto him: every one was as well pleaſed as if he had been Prince himſelf, becauſe he might be ſo familiar with the Prince. He was wont to content thoſe, who proved his too much humanity, with this ſaying * *That man is cheap bought, who coſts but a ſalutation.*

* *Barcl. Icon. Anim. cap. 5.*

I report the Reader to the Belgian Hiſtories, where he may ſee the changes of warre betwixt theſe two ſides. We will onely obſerve that Duke D'Alva's covetouſneſſe was above his policy in fencing the rich inland and neglecting the barren maritime places. He onely look'd on the broad gates of the countrey whereby it openeth to the continent of Germany and France, whileſt in the mean time almoſt half the Netherlands ran out at the poſtern doore towards the ſea. Naſſaw's ſide then wounded Achilles in the heel indeed, touch'd the Spaniard to the quick, when on Palm-ſunday (as if the day promiſed victory) at Brill they took the firſt livery and ſeaſin of the land, and got ſoon after moſt cities towards

towards the ſea. Had Alva herein prevented him, probably he had made thoſe Provinces as low in ſubjection as ſituation.

Now at laſt he began to be ſenſible of his errour, and grew weary of his command, deſiring to hold that ſtaff no longer, which he perceived he had taken by the wrong end. He ſaw that going about to bridle the Netherlanders with building of caſtles in many places, they had gotten the bit into their own teeth: He ſaw that warre was not quickly to be hunted out of that countrey, where it had taken covert in a wood of cities: He ſaw the coſt of ſome one cities ſiege would pave the ſtreets thereof with ſilver, each city, fort, and ſconce being a Gordian knot, which would make Alexanders ſword turn edge before he could cut thorow it, ſo that this warre and the world were likely to end together, theſe Netherlands being like the head-block in the chimney, where the fire of warre is alwayes kept in (though out every where elſe) never quite quench'd though rak'd up ſometimes in the aſhes of a truce. Beſides, he ſaw that the ſubdued part of the Netherlands obeyed more for fear then love, and their loyalty did rather lie in the Spaniſh Gariſons, then their own hearts, and that in their ſighes they breathed many a proſperous gale to Naſſaw's party: Laſtly, he ſaw that forrein Princes, having the Spaniards greatneſſe in ſuſpicion, deſired he might long be digeſting this break-faſt, leſt he ſhould make his dinner on them, both France and England counting the Low-countreys their outworks to defend their wall: wherefore he petitioned the King of Spain his Maſter to call him home from this unprofitable ſervice.

Then was he called home, and lived ſome years after in Spain, being well reſpected of the King, and employed by him in conquering Portugall, contrary to the expectation of moſt, who look'd that the Kings diſpleaſure would fall heavy on him, for cauſing by his cruelty the defection of ſo many countreys; yet the King favourably reflected on him, perchance to fruſtrate on purpoſe the hopes of many, and to ſhew that Kings affections will not tread in the beaten path

of

of vulgar expectation: or seeing that the Dukes life and state could amount to poor satisfaction for his own losses, he thought it more Princely to remit the whole, then to be revenged but in part: or lastly, because he would not measure his servants loyalty by the successe, and lay the unexpected rubs in the allie to the bowlers fault, who took good aim though missing the Mark. This led many to believe that Alva onely acted the Kings will, and not willed his acts, following the instructions he received, and rather going beyond then against his Commission.

However most barbarous was his cruelty. He bragg'd as he sate at dinner (and was it not a good grace after meat) that he had caused eighteen thousand to be executed by the ordinary minister of justice within the space of six years, besides an infinite more murthered by other tyrannous means. Yea some men he killed many times, giving order to the executioners to pronounce each syllable of torment long upon them, that the thred of their life might not be cut off but unrauell'd, as counting it no pain for men to die, except they dyed with pain; witnesse Anthony Utenhow, whom he caused to be tied to a stake with a chain in * Brussells, compassing him about with a great fire, but not touching him, turning him round about like a poor beast, who was forced to live in that great torment and extremity, roasting before the fire so long, untill the Halberdiers themselves, having compassion on him, thrust him through, contrary to the will both of the Duke and the Spanish Priests.

*Grimst. Hist. of the Netherlands, pag. 411.

When the city of Harlem surrendred themselves unto him on condition to have their lives, he suffered some of the Souldiers and Burgers thereof to be starved to death, saying that *though he promised to give them their lives, he did not promise to find them meat.* The Netherlanders used to fright their children with telling them, Duke D'Alva was coming: and no wonder if children were scared with him, of whom their fathers were afraid.

He was one of a lean body and visage, and his eager soul, biting for anger at the clog of his body, desired to fret a passage

paſſage through it. He had this humour, that he neglected the good counſel of others, eſpecially if given him before he ask'd it, and had rather ſtumble then beware of a block of anothers mans telling.

But as his life was a miroir of cruelty, ſo was his death of Gods patience. It was admirable, that his tragicall acts ſhould have a comicall end; that he that ſent ſo many to the grave, ſhould go to his own, and die in peace. But Gods juſtice on offenders goes not alwayes in the ſame path, nor the ſame pace: And he is not pardoned for the fault, who is for a while reprived from the puniſhment; yea ſometimes the gueſt in the inne goes quietly to bed, before the reckoning for his ſupper is brought to him to diſcharge.

FINIS.